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RICHELIEU AND THE ARTS:

HIS HOUSES AND GARDENS:

HIS ICONOGRAPHY.

by

HONOR LEVI



Ph.D. Thesis,
University of Edinburgh,
September, 1978.

ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with Cardinal Richelieu's interest in the visual arts. For the last twenty years of Louis XIII's reign Richelieu was one of the most important patrons of his day, and it is in the following fields that I seek to demonstrate his interest and influence.

In Chapter One I discuss Richelieu's houses, apart from the Palais Cardinal and the Château de Rueil. Attention is focussed primarily on their contents and decoration. Richelieu inherited, rented, bought, built and was given innumerable buildings, and the most important of these are described.

In Chapter Two Richelieu's two main residences, the Palais Cardinal and the Château de Rueil are discussed in the light of their hitherto unpublished inventories, taken following the Cardinal's death. For the first time it is possible to give a full description of the furniture and collections of paintings and objets d'art belonging to Richelieu.

Chapter Three describes Richelieu's gardens, in which he took an intense, personal interest. It seems that the art of gardening and gardens was one which touched him deeply.

The two final Chapters are concerned with Richelieu's iconography, Chapter Four dealing with the straightforward portraiture of the Cardinal in several mediums, including painted portraits, engravings, medals, portrait busts and a statue. Chapter Five discusses Richelieu's allegorical and mythological iconography, and the uses to which this was put. The gallery, where a series of paintings could comment at length upon a theme, was an ideal vehicle for this kind of iconography, and those galleries connected with Richelieu are described. Other mediums exploring allegorical and mythological

registers include engravings, medals and emblems.

Finally, I append notes on the agents Richelieu employed both to collect works of art, and to supervise building projects.

The second volume of this thesis is devoted to a transcription of the inventories of the Palais Cardinal, the Château de Rueil, and of Richelieu's documents and papers, and it has a separate Introduction.

I declare that the writing of the following thesis is entirely my own

work.

Monon Lewis

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I declare that the writing of the following thesis is entirely my own work.

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In addition to the text of the inventories, I have used other manuscript sources, many of which have been published, if at all, only in part. They include manuscripts in the following libraries and archives: Musée Condé (Chantilly), Bibliothèque Nationale (Département des manuscrits), Archives Nationales, Ministère Central, Bibliothèque de l'Assemblée, Bibliothèque de l'Institut, Archives de Ministère des

1. Boissière, Les Collections de sculpture du Cardinal de Richelieu, Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France, 1882, vol. 2.

PREFACE

When I started my research I was interested in the work of the artist Philippe de Champaigne, and began to compile a catalogue raisonné of his paintings. After several months I discovered that M. Bernard Dorival was on the point of finishing his doctorat d'état on precisely this subject. It seemed natural for me therefore to step sideways to consider one of Champaigne's principal patrons, Cardinal de Richelieu, and to enlarge the scope of my research to cover Richelieu's interest in the fine arts on a wider scale. After three years' work on this topic, I discovered the whereabouts of the inventories, taken after the Cardinal's death, of the contents of the Palais Cardinal and the Château de Rueil, and of his private papers. Although it took a full year to obtain a copy of these inventories, they naturally changed the focus of the work I had already done. While much of my original research remains, the inventories, only a small part of which has been published before,¹ give the clearest possible idea of the kind of furniture and works of art with which Richelieu surrounded himself in his two main residences. The second volume is devoted to a transcript of the inventories and has a separate introduction.

In addition to the text of the inventories, I have used other manuscript sources, many of which have been published, if at all, only in part. They include manuscripts in the following libraries and archives: Musée Condé (Chantilly), Bibliothèque Nationale (Département des manuscrits), Archives Nationales, Minutier Central, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Bibliothèque de l'Institut, Archives du Ministère des

1. Boislisle, Les Collections de sculpture du Cardinal de Richelieu, Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France, 1882, vol.42.

Affaires Etrangères, Bibliothèque Victor Cousin; and I have also used the resources of the Cabinet des Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale. I am indebted to the librarians and archivists in those places. The Comtesse de Nadaillac kindly gave me permission to study the inventories, of which she owns the manuscript, and I am grateful to Madame Catherine Proust and M. Jacques d'Orléans for their invaluable help in obtaining a copy of the micro-film of the inventories, and to the archivist of the Département de la Drôme, in whose care the micro-film of the inventories lies. Professor R. Duchêne was of great assistance in deciphering some of the difficulties in the text, and Professor M. Jaffé also helped with the subject of some of the paintings in the Palais Cardinal.

Finally, my supervisor, Professor Alan Steele, has given me constant encouragement, as has my husband. I am extremely grateful to them both.

My ancestor, Michelieu, by no means noble but comfortably placed, and when Armand-Jean was sent back to Paris at the age of nine to be educated at the Collège de Navarre, it was at the expense of his maternal uncle, Amador de la Porte. Thereafter Michelieu spent some time at the Académie de Flaynol, where he took the name of Marquis de Chillon, after a small family estate. He was destined for a military career, but he turned to the Church when his second brother, Alphonse, refused to be consecrated Bishop of Lagon, a see to which he had been titularly appointed when he was twelve years old, and which was within the family's nomination. Michelieu was appointed to the bishopric at the end of 1606, although he had not yet then reached the canonical age of twenty-five. In 1607 he went to Rome to hasten the necessary papal dispensation, and was consecrated there in April of the same year.

The bishopric of Lagon was not a particularly lucrative one, the revenues amounting to some 10,000 livres per annum. In letters

INTRODUCTION

Armand-Jean du Plessis de Richelieu was born in 1585, the third and youngest son of a noble but impoverished family from Poitou. His paternal grandmother was Françoise de Rochechouart, a member of one of France's most influential families, but only one third of whose dowry of 12,000 livres had ever been paid. His father, François de Richelieu, had served both Henri III and Henri IV, and was made grand prévôt of France in 1578, and a member of the Ordre du Saint-Esprit in 1586. The insignia of the Order had to be sold to meet funeral expenses when he died four years later, and afterwards, in the interests of economy, Armand-Jean, his brothers and two sisters were taken to live in the family château at Richelieu in the Loire valley.

His mother came from a family of lawyers, by no means noble but comfortably placed, and when Armand-Jean was sent back to Paris at the age of nine to be educated at the Collège de Navarre, it was at the expense of his maternal uncle, Amador de la Porte. Thereafter Richelieu spent some time at the Académie de Pluvinel, where he took the name of Marquis de Chillou, after a small family estate. He was destined for a military career, but he turned to the Church when his second brother, Alphonse, refused to be consecrated Bishop of Luçon, a see to which he had been titularly appointed when he was twelve years old, and which was within the family's nomination. Richelieu was appointed to the bishopric at the end of 1606, although he had not by then reached the correct canonical age of twenty-five. In 1607 he went to Rome to hasten the necessary papal dispensation, and was consecrated there in April of the same year.

The bishopric of Luçon was not a particularly lucrative one, its revenues amounting to some 16,000 livres¹ per annum. In letters

1. Batiffol, Autour de Richelieu, 1937, p.8.

written during his residence there, Richelieu constantly alluded to his financial distress, and complained bitterly about the fact that he was unable to maintain the style which he considered would suitably reflect his social position. He was at his most revealing when writing to a Madame de Bourges, a friend in Paris who undertook commissions on his behalf. In 1610 he told her,

Je suis gueux, comme vous savez, de façon que je ne puis faire fort l'opulent; mais toutesfois, lorsque j'auray plats d'argent, ma noblesse sera fort relevée. 1

Later the same year, he touched on the same theme:

...estant un peu glorieux, je voudrois bien, estant plus à mon ayse, paroistre davantage...C'est grande pitié que de pauvre noblesse. 2

In 1613 Richelieu had to sell a tapestry acquired for him by Madame de Bourges in order to meet some debts, and he complained to her again of his situation:

Je vous rends mille grâces de la peine que vous avez eue de vendre ma tapisserie; par là vous conoistrez la misère d'un pauvre moyne qui est réduit à la vente de ses meubles et à la vie rustique, ne faisant pas sitost estat de quitter ce séjour pour prendre celuy de la ville. 3

The remarkable frankness in these early letters underlines Richelieu's desire to demonstrate his nobility, and his belief that this objective was most easily achieved through the visible display of possessions. This obsession was to haunt Richelieu throughout his career, and helps to explain the eagerness with which he spent vast sums on furnishing and decorating his various residences, even though he used some of them only infrequently, or, in the case of the Château de Richelieu, never at all in its finished state.

Richelieu's belief in the importance of the public display of

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1. Avenel, Lettres, vol.1, p.27.
 2. Avenel, Lettres, vol.1, p.56.
 3. Avenel, Lettres, vol.1, p.110.

wealth emerges from a study of the inventories published in the second volume of this thesis. In the Palais Cardinal, as we shall see, Richelieu's own rooms contained no spectacular pieces of furniture or works of art, whereas the appartements, theatres and galleries, which would have been seen by the public, were extremely opulent. A comparison between the contents of the Palais Cardinal and those of the Château de Rueil illuminates the same point. Rueil was a favourite retreat of the Cardinal's, and his letters show that he went there whenever he felt the need to relax. In June 1634 he wrote,

La solitude de Rueil m'est meilleure que l'accablement
de Fleury. 1

Although there are indications to suspect that the inventory of the château is less informative than it might have been,² it is nevertheless the first document to show how Rueil was furnished in Richelieu's time. There are no contemporary descriptions of the interiors, perhaps either because casual visitors were actively discouraged from entering the château, or because it was generally known that the rooms were not worth describing. The inventory certainly shows that Rueil was simply furnished, with no important paintings, and this indicates that Richelieu's personal tastes were less exuberant than might have been imagined.

Certain aspects of Richelieu's interest in the arts have been well documented, such as his love of literature and, in particular, the theatre. That he owned collections of paintings and sculptures, decorating his several châteaux and hôtels, is also well known. I

1. Avenel, Lettres, vol.4, p.567.

2. See my Introduction to the Inventories.

hope to draw together various threads concerning Richelieu and the arts, but I shall concentrate primarily on his houses, their contents, decoration and gardens, and on his iconography.

The first chapter starts by describing houses owned by Richelieu, but about which we know very little. Many of these were regarded as investments, were rented out, and were never occupied by the Cardinal. Since Richelieu took an active part in the military campaigns of the reign, and since in any case the Court was still largely peripatetic, he was often forced to borrow or rent houses himself when he was too far from one of his own residences. I describe the Château de Fleury in more detail, since it was used by Richelieu over a period of ten years, whenever the Court was at Fontainebleau, and on these occasions was put at Richelieu's disposition by the owner, Nicolas Clausse.

The châteaux which belonged to Richelieu will be discussed in the following order: the Château de Limours, bought in 1623; the Château de Bois-le-Vicomte, given to Richelieu by Marie de Médicis sometime after the conclusion of the siege of La Rochelle; the Château de Richelieu, bought back from family creditors on Richelieu's behalf in 1621, and extensively remodelled after the erection of the estate into a duchy in 1631, the town of Richelieu which was built at the same time, and finally, the Hôtel du Petit-Luxembourg in Paris, which was given by Marie de Médicis to Richelieu in 1627. I shall be concerned particularly with the contents and decoration of these houses, and the artists and craftsmen employed by Richelieu for this work.

Chapter Two deals with Richelieu's two main residences, the Palais Cardinal and the Château de Rueil, the previously unpublished inventories of which, taken after Richelieu's death in 1642, are to be found in the second volume. The Palais Cardinal has been well documented in the past, but the layout of the interior has never been

accurately described, and it is now possible, from the inventory, to work out where the various appartements were located, and to discover their furnishings and decoration. The inventory clears up some conjectures of earlier historians on these points. The inventory also helps to identify the paintings in Richelieu's collection. The inventory for the Château de Rueil is a little less revealing, although again the number of rooms and their general disposition can be gauged more precisely than previously.

This chapter also describes the decorations which are not included in the inventories. Most of the paintings specifically commissioned for the Palais Cardinal and the Château de Rueil are not mentioned in the inventories, as they were regarded as decorative fixtures, and remained in situ after Richelieu's death.

Chapter Three concerns the gardens and parks of Richelieu's various properties, and starts with a brief history of the art and theory of gardening in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Richelieu's interest in his gardens was probably as deep, if not deeper, than his interest in the houses themselves. He had a genuine need for the tranquility provided by the cultivated surroundings of his properties, and an equally genuine knowledge of all aspects of horticulture and forestry. He even appears to have indulged in some gentle practical gardening himself, while relaxing at Rueil if, as I assume, the engraved silver implements mentioned in the inventory¹ were for his personal use.

The last two chapters are both concerned with Richelieu's iconography. In Chapter Four I discuss the straightforward portraiture of the Cardinal in its various forms, whether in painted portraits,

1. Inventory, Items 1750, 1751.

engravings, medals, busts or statues. The career as portraitist of Philippe de Champaigne, the artist most frequently commissioned to portray Richelieu, is discussed in some detail.

In Chapter Five I discuss the political aspects of Richelieu's iconography, and the extended dimensions created when a mythological or other register is added to a straight portrait. The gallery was an ideal medium in which to explore such layers of significance, and I discuss not only those galleries created for Richelieu, but also those by which he might have been influenced, and another, painted after his death, where he was the principal subject. Emblematic references to the Cardinal were common during his ministry, and were used both as decorative motifs in his houses, and as propaganda material both for, and against, his policies, and these too are dealt with in this chapter.

Finally, I append notes on the agents Richelieu employed to obtain works of art for his collections, or to supervise building projects. During the course of my research the names of certain artistic collaborators reappeared frequently, but such men were not employed exclusively to cater for Richelieu's artistic interests. He appears to have made use of people who were conveniently placed to take advantage of a possible acquisition, or to keep him informed about the progress of building work, rather than employ individuals specially for this work. Such men included highly placed churchmen, foreigners, and people employed on political missions abroad.

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1. *Bibliothèque de Saint-Pierre, Moulins*, 1946, vol. 1, p. 27.
 2. *Ducloux, Études de Topographie Parisienne*, 1930, vol. 2, p. 427.
 3. *Matifol, Autour de Richelieu*, 1937, p. 150.
 4. *Aubert, L'Histoire du Cardinal Duc de Richelieu*, 1664, p. 5.
 5. *Ducloux, Études de Topographie Parisienne*, 1930, vol. 2, p. 427.

RICHELIEU'S HOUSES

Despite legends current even during Richelieu's lifetime that he was born in the family Château de Richelieu,¹ which originated from the belief that the architecture of the château was irregular because Richelieu had had the weakness to wish to retain the room there in which he was born, Dumolin has shown that his birthplace was in fact Paris, where his parents lived in a house in the rue du Bouloi.² For his own part, Richelieu always claimed that he was Parisian by birth,³ and Aubery,⁴ the biographer officially appointed by the Duchesse d'Aiguillon to write the history of her uncle's life, is specific about the Cardinal's birthplace.

After his consecration as Bishop of Luçon, Richelieu remained in residence there for several years, visiting Paris on the accession of Louis XIII, and again in 1614-1615 for the session of the Etats Généraux at which he made the closing speech for the clergy. He stayed in Paris for some time thereafter, becoming sécétaire d'Etat in November 1616. He followed Marie de Médicis when she was sent in disgrace to Blois, and in April 1618 he himself was exiled to Avignon for almost a year. From 1621 he was based in or near Paris for the rest of his life.

Initially, Richelieu rented houses in which to live. In March 1616 he lived in the rue des Bons-Enfants, and in 1621 he occupied a house in the rue des Mauvaises-Paroles.⁵ Another house in Saint-Germain-en-Laye, which was owned by Jehan Bachellier, was rented by

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1. Mademoiselle de Montpensier, Mémoires, 1746, vol. 1, p.27.
 2. Dumolin, Etudes de Topographie Parisienne, 1930, vol.2, p.427.
 3. Batiffol, Autour de Richelieu, 1937, p.150.
 4. Aubery, L'Histoire du Cardinal Duc de Richelieu, 1660, p.5.
 5. Dumolin, Etudes de Topographie Parisienne, 1930, vol.2, p.428.

Richelieu in September 1627 for a sum of four hundred livres to cover two years' rent.¹ It was not until 1624 that he bought the former Hôtel de Fresnes (or d'Argenes) in the rue Saint Honoré which was to become the Palais Cardinal, but because of the importance of the inventory of this building, it will be considered separately in the next chapter.

Richelieu's interest in houses and their reconstruction was insatiable: in the last two decades of his life he undertook the major construction of the Palais Cardinal, and the château and town of Richelieu. He bought, or was given, and embellished the country properties of Limours, Bois-le-Vicomte and Rueil. In 1639 he authorised work which was to cost 55,000 livres on the Château de Saugeon which he had acquired the previous year from Samuel Eusèbe de Campet for 150,000 livres.² In addition to the houses on the family estates which he inherited from his eldest brother Henri du Plessis, he bought or built houses in Fontainebleau, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Brouage and Paris. The list of his estates³ detailed in his inventory is impressive, but his interest in, and supervision of the building processes of his various houses and châteaux was accompanied by an equally lively concern about his ecclesiastical patronage (notably demonstrated in the rebuilding of the Sorbonne), the naval and military fortifications established at Le Havre, Brouage and in many other parts of France, and in the colleges which he created or intended to create to educate the sons of noblemen in both Paris and at Richelieu.

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1. Eriële, Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Hôtel-Dieu, 1887, vol.4, p.300.
 2. Sourdis, Correspondance, 1839, vol.2, p.106, and Inventory, fo. 798r; see also BN MS France, nouv. acq. 15988 fo.32v. Adam (Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes, 1961, vol.2, p.1439 no.4) says that Richelieu bought the barony in August 1633, but these dates do not accord with those in the inventory.
 3. See volume 2, pp.140-156, cf. also Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, France, vol.847, fo.153ff.

The inventory of Richelieu's papers unfortunately gives only a cursory description of them in many cases, and there is often no indication when a house or château belonged to the estates inherited or acquired by the Cardinal. Frequently there is only the brief mention of "appartenances et deppendances"¹ so that from the inventory it is impossible to ascertain the number of houses and buildings which he owned. A case in point concerns the estate of the Duchy of Fronsac. The château had been partially destroyed in 1622 following a royal edict.² Richelieu bought the estate in 1633, and its erection into a duchy was confirmed in his favour the following year. Some measures were taken to refortify the château in 1637.³

...Fournier, pour mettre le château en estat de se pouvoir deffandre, fict murer les fenestres basses, faire des canonieres aux fenestres et bastir un ravelin en demy lune devant les portes, pourquoy faire il paya lxxvi livres.

Some of Richelieu's houses were let in order to supplement his annual income. Houses in Fontainebleau and Saint-Germain-en-Laye, for instance, brought in an annual revenue of 32,000 livres.⁴ The inventory of Richelieu's papers show that he bought a house in Fontainebleau in April 1621 for 5,000 livres from Louis Hurault, who was later to sell Richelieu the Château de Limours. The house was situated near the cour du cheval blanc.⁵ The architect of this house was probably Gilles Le Breton, who also built the Château de Fleury.⁶ Although Richelieu's inventory does not substantiate the claim that he built a house in Fontainebleau,⁷ his brother Henri owned part of a house

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1. For example at Moisson, see vol.2, p.140.
 2. Hauteceur, Histoire de L'Architecture classique en France, 1966, vol.1(3), p.346.
 3. Brièle, Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Hôtel-Dieu, 1887, vol.4, p.295.
 4. Batiffol, Autour de Richelieu, 1937, p.31, and Arch. Aff. Etr. France, vol.847, fo.153.
 5. Inventory, fo.778r-779v.
 6. Vanaise, Gazette des Beaux Arts, 1966, pp.253f.
 7. Hauteceur, Histoire de L'Architecture classique, 1966, vol.1(3), p.162.

there¹ and Richelieu almost certainly inherited it. A house in Saint-Germain-en-Laye was bought in March 1633 which had belonged to the Prince de Condé and his wife, Charlotte de Montmorency, and which was called the Hôtel de Montmorency. Richelieu paid 20,000 livres for the property.² Richelieu built a house at Brouage, designed by Le Mercier and constructed by Thiriot,³ bought houses at Coutras,⁴ and certainly owned other property in Paris which gave him an annual income of 92,000 livres.⁵

The energy and time which Richelieu lavished on his houses is the more surprising when it is remembered that he rarely spent more than a month or two in one spot. In his prominent political position he naturally had to follow the King, and the court was still largely peripatetic. Richelieu also took an active part in the military campaigns of the reign, and even in the last year of his life he spent nine months in an exhausting journey to the Languedoc region, during which his ill health worsened (to the extent that he made his will in Narbonne), and the trauma of the treason and subsequent execution of Cinq Mars and de Thou had to be endured. On many occasions when he found himself in a position to use one of his residences, building operations prevented him from doing so. Guy Patin mentioned in a letter of 1633 that Richelieu was moving to the Arsenal for a few months, as he could not use his Paris house.⁶ Richelieu was occasionally unable to live in any comfort at Rueil either. In a letter to the King in May 1636 he said:

Aussi tost que j'ay sceu que V.M. venoit à Versailles,
je me suis résolu de m'approcher d'elle à Ruel, où
j'iray coucher aujourd'huy, ou dans le bourg, ou dans

1. Inventory, fo.779vf.

2. Inventory, fo.773r.

3. Inventory, fo.646v-647v.

4. Inventory, fo.646v-647v.

5. Batiffol, Autour de Richelieu, 1937, p.31.

6. Guy Patin, Nouveau recueil de lettres choisies, Rotterdam 1695, vol.4, p.47.

la ferme, ne pouvant loger au chateau. 1

In September 1642 he made a similar complaint to de Noyers:

Je me trouve bien empesché pour mon logement de Ruel, et je ne sçay comment je pourray faire. Je pourray bien loger ma personne en la chambre ou j'ay accoustumé de manger, en l'accomodant; mais il faudra que tous mes gardes couchent en un nouveau bastiment où j'ay peur qu'ils tombent tous malades. 2

When he was travelling throughout France Richelieu stayed in which-ever suitable houses or châteaux could be requisitioned. Deloche³ describes the difficulties encountered in such movements, as the Cardinal's household was enormous. During seven months of the summer and autumn of 1633 he stayed in at least fifteen different places.⁴ He sometimes borrowed houses from people who were in no position to refuse the request. While imprisoned in the Bastille, Bassompierre learned that the Cardinal wished to use a house at Chaillot. Although he strangely claims that the house was his own, it belonged, in fact, to his brother, but no doubt family pressure was brought to bear on him to accede to the demand for accommodation.⁵

A house which Richelieu used regularly in the summer months for several years was the Château de Fleury, although it never belonged to him. Built around 1550 for Côme Clausse, grand maître des eaux et forêts under Henri II, it belonged by Richelieu's time to Côme's grandson, Nicolas, a bachelor who seems to have put the château at Richelieu's disposition whenever he wanted it. The building (which still exists) is of stone and brick, typical of the period. Although Fleury is traditionally thought to be the work of Pierre Lescot, the

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1. Avenel, Lettres, vol.5, p.459.
 2. Avenel, Lettres, vol.7, p.131.
 3. Deloche, La Maison du Cardinal, 1912, ch.19.
 4. Avenel, Lettres, vol.4, pp.450-503.
 5. Bassompierre, Mémoires, 1692, vol.2, p.721.

architect is now believed to be Gilles Le Breton who was working in Fontainebleau at the time, and who indeed built a house in the town for Côme Clausse at about the same time or a little earlier.¹ The chapel, and a gallery on the first floor of the château, contained some fine frescoes which were thought to have been done by Niccolo dell' Abbate², but which Soulange Bodin claims were painted by Abbate's compatriot Primaticcio.³ Richelieu's use of Fleury did not terminate with the acquisition of Rueil: Fleury was so near Fontainebleau that it was convenient to use the château as a pied-à-terre, and indeed he sometimes complained about its proximity to the town. Having been ill in June 1634 he wrote:

La solitude de Ruel m'est meilleure que l'accablement de Fleury. 4

In May 1626 one of a series of attempts against Richelieu's life was executed whilst he was in residence at Fleury. It was as a result of this plot, for which Chalais was beheaded, that the King gave Richelieu a permanent escort of personal guards.⁵

Thoroughly frightened by this attempted assassination, according to Brienne, Richelieu withdrew to the Château de Limours:

pour laisser passer l'orage et voir de là sur qui, de lui ou du Roi, la nuée creveroit. La chose alla si loin qu'il demanda à Sa Majesté la permission de vivre désormais en personne privée et de ne se mêler plus des affaires d'Etat. 6

The Château de Limours, situated to the southwest of Paris near Rambouillet, was the earliest country property to be bought by

1. Vanaise, Gazette des Beaux Arts, 1966, p.253.

2. Hauteceur, Histoire de L'Architecture classique en France, 1966,

3. Bodin, Les Anciens Châteaux de France: notices historiques et descriptives. 5e. série.

4. Avenel, Lettres, vol.4, p.567.

5. Deloche, La Maison du Cardinal, 1912, p.365.

6. Brienne, Mémoires, 1916, vol.2, p.184.

Richelieu. It had originally been built for the Duchesse d'Estampes, to whom François I had given the estate. It was subsequently inhabited by Diane de Poitiers, and belonged in the early part of the 17th century to the chancellor, Louis Hurault de Chiverny, from whom Richelieu bought it in a contract dated 6 April 1623. In order to pay for the property Richelieu was obliged to sell his office of grand aumônier to Anne d'Autriche, a post which he had held since 1615.¹ He was helped by a gift from Marie de Médicis of 36,000 livres "en consideration des bons et agréables services"² towards her, and to complete the transaction sold a property at Ansac. This property had belonged to his eldest brother Henri, through his marriage to Marguerite Guyot to whom it had been left by her first husband. Richelieu's ownership of it had only been formally adjudicated in 1621.³ Richelieu had considered selling almost at once. In a letter of December 1622 he wrote:

Prestez l'oreille à ceux qui vous ont parlé d'Ansac, car si je trouve à le bien vendre, je m'y résoudray aysément. 4

It was Richelieu's habitual ill health which prompted him into buying Limours, and though he rightly considered the purchase to be a folie, he explained his rashness by claiming:

les choses qui sont pour la santé d'une personne ne doivent jamais estre estimées vrayes folies. 5

Hurault de Chiverny was paid 270,000 livres for the property, and although Richelieu was to remain the owner for only three years, he spent a further 400,000 livres on its embellishment, and increased the landholding by buying the nearby estate of Montlhéry. This is the sum mentioned by Mathieu de Morgues, at any rate, in his Remonstrance

1. Avenel, Lettres, vol.7, pp.525 and 530.

2. Batiffol, Autour de Richelieu, 1937, p.13.

3. Inventory, fo.698r.

4. Avenel, Lettres, vol.1, p.744.

5. Avenel, Lettres, vol.7, p.525.

au Roy¹ of 1631 and even though such an outspoken enemy of the Cardinal's would scarcely err on the side of understatement, it is supported by the similarity of the amount paid to Richelieu on the resale of the property to Gaston d'Orléans.²

We know a little about the improvements undertaken by Richelieu from his letters, from his household accounts which were once in the Hôtel-Dieu, and from an interesting letter of Marie de Médicis. Writing in her less than impeccable French, she described the house as being:

extrêmement belle et fort gaie, les chambres
extrêmement belles et particulièrement les miennes,
fort bien meublées et si bien accommodées que tous
qui est avec moi né ravi. La grande salle que
j'avois dit qu'il falloit mettre par terre est la
plus belle pièce qui se puisse voir et quand la
sera peinte, la sera en toute perfection... Un
défaut seul li ai trouvé: c'est que le maître non
li est peint et que cela ôte beaucoup de lustre à
la maison. 3

The Queen Mother must have made her visit in pleasant weather.

Richelieu's comment to Bouthillier:

Au reste tant s'en fault que la maison soit triste
quelle est fort gaye au beau temps. 4

suggests that the house was for use strictly in the summer months.

In the same letter of April 1623 Richelieu makes it clear that work began on it immediately after purchase:

Il fault que je vous confesse que nostre acquest
réussira mieux que nous ne pensions encore, car
ayant faict les réparations à quoy on n'eust point
commencé sans mon voiage, le lieu sera honneste...
Vous le jugerés à la première veue après les
réparations dans quatre mois.

1. P.51.

2. Batiffol, *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris*, 1927, vol.49, pp.247-49.

3. Published by Batiffol, *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris*, 1927, p.244.

4. Avenel, *Lettres*, vol.7, p.527.

Initially, Richelieu intended to use the architect Salomon de Brosse to design the additions to the château. Writing on 4 May 1623 to Rubens, Peiresc mentions that de Brosse has already made several visits to Limours.¹ Whether de Brosse turned out to be too expensive, or too busy (he was working on the construction of the Luxembourg palace at the time for Marie de Médicis), or whether Richelieu only intended him to make preparatory drawings, the architect of the conversions to Limours mentioned in Richelieu's household accounts is Salomon de Caus,² but unfortunately the exact nature of the decorative additions to the château and gardens can no longer be determined.

The gallery of the château contained a series of portraits of princes and nobles, surrounding those of the King and Queen. Jean de Gonfreville, maistre menuysier, did the joiner work involved, sending in a bill in 1626 which detailed:

vingt trois corniches pour les portrés des roi et raine et aussy les enchasures de douze portrés de princes et seigneurs, pour mettre alentour du roy et de la raine. 3

At the same time, Duchesne itemised the decorations he had completed up to the date of 10 January 1626:

plus la chambre du Roy, trois travées enrichies dor, avec cartouches de relief dorées, à fond dasur et blanc, et les frizes toutes de relief avec consolles, cartouches, et le dessoulz des poutres tout de relief avec festons dorez, à fonds dasure et blanc; revient à la somme de 11 mil livres.

...Plus pour les deux grandes figures que l'on a peint de blanc de plomb à huile, qui sont les frontons au chasteau et celles qui sont sur le portail de jardin, XVI livres. 4

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1. Translation of the letter published by Thuillier and Foucart, Rubens' Life of Marie de' Medici, 1967, p.118.
 2. Brièle, Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Hôtel-Dieu, 1887, vol.4, p.298.
 3. Brièle, Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Hôtel-Dieu, 1887, vol.4, p.299.
 4. Brièle, Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Hôtel-Dieu, 1887, vol.4, pp.298-9.

Not a substantial amount is known about the artist Nicolas Duchesne. He appears to have been a landscape painter of somewhat meagre talent. Félibien at any rate speaks unflatteringly of his quality, saying that he was not:

fort abondant en pensées, ni habile à les exécuter,
et... (il) avoit besoin du secours de quelques
personnes sçavantes & pratiques... 1

He was appointed premier peintre to the Queen Mother, and it was undoubtedly when Richelieu had been Marie de Médicis' intendant, and helped supervise some of the construction and decoration of her Luxembourg palace, that he made the artist's acquaintance. While he was working for the Queen Mother in Paris, Duchesne employed both Poussin, before he settled in Rome, and Philippe de Champaigne, who was also at the beginning of his career.²

We know nothing about the furnishings at Limours, except that there was a certain amount of statuary. On 8 September 1626 Richelieu wrote to Bouthillier with some instructions.

Je vous prie, s'il se peut, faire oster un buste du Roy qu'on a mis au passage de la porte de Limours entre les deux statues du Roy et de la Reyne sa Mere, car outre qu'il n'est pas bien fait, Brard (sic) n'ayant pas la main comme Berthelot il est destiné pour estre à Richelieu. 3

Pierre Biard the younger (1592-1661) was a pupil of Pierre Francheville, and had studied in Italy. He also had worked for Marie de Médicis, and had contributed the sculptures for the Grotte de Marie de Médicis in the gardens of the Luxembourg palace. Several years later Richelieu was to commission Biard to make the equestrian statue of Louis XIII, which was erected in 1639 in the middle of the Place Royale (now the Place des Vosges). The horse had originally been

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1. Félibien, Vie des Peintres, 1690, vol.2, p.573.
 2. For details of Duchesne's work at the Luxembourg palace and elsewhere, see Revue de l'Art français, 2e année, Juillet 1885, pp.114-5, and Janneau, La Peinture française au XVIIe siècle, 1965, p.28.
 3. Avenel, Lettres, vol.2, pp.260-1.

made by an Italian sculptor to carry a statue of Henri II, but had never been used for that purpose.¹

Richelieu owned Limours for only three and a half years. At the end of 1626 the King bought the château and estates of Limours and Montlhéry, and gave them to his brother, Gaston, to enlarge his apanage. Richelieu was paid 375,000 livres, and a further 300,000 livres by Gaston d'Orleans to cover

les impenses, améliorations, nouveaux bâtiments et augmentations... basse-cour, parcs, jardin, et meubles... 2

Richelieu used part of the money from the sale of Limours to purchase the appointment of governor of Le Havre, which for strategic reasons, according to Malherbe,³ had been decided should be under his control. Richelieu had to pay the previous incumbent 300,000 livres, although this sum was later reimbursed by the King.⁴ While Malherbe concluded that the Cardinal had been forced by his sense of duty to sell the property, Gaston was convinced that Richelieu was delighted at the opportunity of recovering the considerable amount of money he had spent on a house which no longer pleased him, finding it

aussi déplaisante que malsaine pour sa situation qui est en bas lieu, avec ce qu'il n'y avait point de fontaine ni d'autre eau et que beaucoup d'autres choses manquaient... 5

Richelieu became the proprietor of another country property when he was presented by Marie de Médicis with the Château de Bois-

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1. Montaiglon, Notice sur l'ancienne statue équestre, ouvrage de Daniello Ricciarelli et de Biard le fils, élevée à Louis XIII en 1639 au milieu de la Place Royale à Paris, 1851.
 2. B.N. ms. Dupuy, vol. 149, fo. 98f. Quoted by Batiffol, Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris, 1927, p. 247. Batiffol gives the references as B.N.m. fr. 4502 fo. 438v, and B.N. ms. n.a. fr. 7212 fo. 51r.
 3. Lettre à M. de Mentin, Oeuvres, 1971, p. 337.
 4. Batiffol, Autour de Richelieu, 1937, p. 17.
 5. Mémoires de Gaston, duc d'Orléans, 1824, p. 574.

le-Vicomte, together with 180,000 livres, after the successful conclusion of the siege of La Rochelle. The château dated from the end of the 16th century, and had belonged to Marie's intendant, Feydeau. He had rebuilt the château, employing Salomon de Brosse to design two domes, and using the entrepreneur Jean Thiriot, who was later to do so much work for Richelieu. This work was carried out from 1619 to 1621.¹ Richelieu continued to improve the château. The architect Le Mercier executed the toisé for the stable block and courtyard in April 1631, and Thiriot had been working there the previous year.² Richelieu owned Bois-le-Vicomte until February 1635, when it was exchanged for Champigny-sur-Vende, a property which abutted the Cardinal's at Richelieu, and which belonged to Mademoiselle de Montpensier, Gaston d'Orléans' daughter. The contract stipulated that the Château de Champigny had to be pulled down before the exchange of properties took place, and Barbet was employed to undertake this. The contract³ describes the Château de Bois-le-Vicomte as "un des plus beaux & accompli qui soit és environs de Paris," and lists the improvements made to it by Richelieu:

depuis l'adiudication qui luy en a esté faite par decret, il a fait bastir pour plus de deux cens mil livres, tant pour parachever la Basse-court; commencée par feu monsieur Feydeau, reparer les Fossez qui estoient tombez en ruine pour avoir esté mal faits, que bastimens de grande Escurie, & cours de mesnagerie, conduits des Fontaines, achapt des terres pour les advenües & plan des palliers en autres arbres... 4

In May 1635 Denis 11 Godefroy visited the château and wrote a detailed description, a manuscript copy of which is now in the Bibliothèque de l'Institut.⁵ Times not having changed much, it

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1. Hauteceur, Histoire de l'Architecture Classique en France, 1966, vol.1 (3), p.35.
 2. Hauteceur, Histoire de l'Architecture Classique en France, 1966, vol.1(3), p.142 and p.66 n.3.
 3. B.N. ms Recueil Thoisy, vol.54, fo.257ff.
 4. B.N. ms Recueil Thoisy, vol.54, fo.257r.
 5. Ms Coll. Godefroy, vol.221, fo.60r-67r.

seems, the visit was arranged by speaking to the concierge;

qui moyennant quelque argent, nous a donné une
personne pour nous mener veoir toutes les belles
peintures du corps de logis. 1

The chapel, situated in the left hand wing of the château, was heavily gilded, and contained a series of paintings depicting the lives of Christ and of the Virgin, to whom Richelieu had a particular devotion. It was on his instigation that Louis XIII made his vow dedicating the kingdom to the Virgin, in December 1637.²

The first room to be visited in the château itself by Godefroy was square in shape, and was decorated with tapestries showing village wedding festivities and other bucolic scenes. The next room, slightly smaller than the first, had another of those series of portraits for which Richelieu seems to have had a particular taste: we have seen that one was specially introduced at Limours, and they were a feature of most of his other major houses too. This particular collection was of kings and queens, the subjects being Charles V and Jeanne de Bourbon, his wife; Charles VI; Charles VIII and his mother Ste. Charlotte de Savoye; Louis XII, and Anne de Bretagne. Richelieu's personal apartments followed, and included his bedroom, with the bed and furniture covered in gold-embroidered red velvet, and two other rooms overlooking the garden. In one, used more frequently by the Cardinal, there were desks and a "contoir pour distribuer de l'argent", as well as magnificent paintings including:

représentées au vif les amours de Psyché et Cupidon,
de la main d'un des plus excellents peintres du monde. 3

Richelieu's apartments led to the banqueting hall which was decorated with paintings and tapestries and had a large chimney-piece showing

1. Ms. Coll. Godefroy, vol.221, fo.62v.

2. The text of the dedication is reproduced in Avenel, Lettres, vol.5, pp.908-912.

3. Ms. Coll. Godefroy, vol.221, fo.63r.

in relief the scene of the deliverance of Andromeda. The Cardinal's niece, Madame de Combalet, later the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, had rooms on the same floor: her bed and other furniture were upholstered in yellow satin.

The upper floor contained a long gallery used for entertainments. It too had paintings

qui representent des amours de Signors, et dames
Lespagnolles (sic), pieces rares, et qui recréent
merveilleusement la vëue. 1

The Queen Mother's rooms were next to the gallery, and were followed by two smaller rooms, one of which served as a private chapel, and the other contained that series of emblems:

à la seule occasion desquels plusieurs se transportent
à Bois-le-Vicomte pour les voir. 2

These emblems are studied at greater length in Chapter 5.

The outside of the château was decorated with statues; among them were half figures of the King and Marie de Médicis, a form of compliment which we have already seen proffered to his royal patrons at Limours, and which was repeated at Richelieu.

It is difficult to tell which of the decorations, apart from the series of emblems, were executed specifically for the Cardinal. The sum of more than 300,000 livres mentioned in the exchange contract as having been spent by Richelieu was used for more strictly building purposes.³ Félibien says that Philippe de Champaigne painted for Richelieu at Bois-le-Vicomte, but unfortunately there is no corroborative evidence elsewhere.⁴

1. Ms. Coll. Godefroy, vol.221, fo.63v.

2. Ms. Coll. Godefroy, vol.221, fo.64r.

3. See p.17.

4. Félibien, Vie des Peintres, 1690, vol.2, p.574.

Richelieu's largest scale reconstruction of a country property was, of course, at his family château of Richelieu, near Tours. This is also amongst the best documented of the Cardinal's building projects.¹

François de Richelieu died in 1590 leaving his family to face considerable debts. The estate was inherited by his eldest son, Henri, who was killed in a duel in 1619, and the succession thereafter proved excessively difficult to liquidate. It was not until February 1621 that Alphonse de Richelieu (later Archbishop of Aix) acting on his younger brother's behalf, was able to buy back the château and estate for a sum of 76,000 livres.² Four years after buying back the property, Richelieu decided to continue the rebuilding of the château which had originally been started by his father. The indications are that at this stage Richelieu intended only to add another, larger wing to the block his father had already erected around 1580. Tallemant des Réaux, as usual, speaks scathingly of this project:

Regardez quelle foiblesse a cet homme,... de croire qu'un bastiment adjousté à la maison de son père feroit beaucoup pour sa gloire. 3

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1. 17th and 18th century sources, excluding descriptions left by visitors (see later) include: Desmarets de Saint Sorlin, Les Promenades de Richelieu, (eighth promenade), 1653; Vignier, Le Chasteau de Richelieu, Saumur, 1676; Marot, Le Magnifique Château de Richelieu (plans, vues, perspectives etc.), 1676; Description du Château de Richelieu par un anonyme du milieu du XVIIIe siècle, (published by Grandmaison, Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français, 1882, 3, pp.211-237.); 19th and 20th century descriptions include: Bosseboeuf, Histoire de Richelieu, Archives de Touraine, 1890; Batiffol, Autour de Richelieu, 1937, pp.143-205.
 2. Inventory, fo.548v-549v. Bosseboeuf, Histoire de Richelieu, p.169, and Batiffol, Autour de Richelieu, p.148, both give the amount paid as 79,000 livres. It is true that in the months following the acquisition of the family home the Cardinal spent further, but insignificant, sums for certain rights in the neighbouring villages, and for small parcels of woodland. Inventory fo. 550v-555r.
 3. Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes, 1961, vol.1, pp.251-2.

Richelieu visited the château in 1626, and according to Félibien¹ Champagne did some decorative work there, probably around 1628. It was not, however, until 1631, when Louis XIII erected the estate into a duchy that the more grandiose plans, including the construction of a new town at the gates of the château, were devised. The elaboration of the plans was due in part to the tradition that the incumbent of a new duché pairie had to ensure that his property produced sufficient income to support the higher state now required. Richelieu thus set about acquiring adjoining lands: Tallemant des Réaux repeats some of the stories about the transactions involved, including the exchange forced on the duc d'Orléans on behalf of his daughter of the properties of Champigny and Bois-le-Vicomte, which has already been mentioned. Mademoiselle de Montpensier's Mémoires confirm Tallemant's claim that the Sainte Chapelle at Champigny which Richelieu also intended to have razed to the ground, together with the château, was saved only on the intervention of the Pope, Urban VIII, who, remembering the occasion when as papal Nuncio in France he had celebrated mass in the chapel:

se souvint... qu'elle étoit fondée par des personnes trop illustres, qui avoient laissé des héritiers qui l'étoient trop aussi, pour n'avoir pas eu le soin de conserver un Edifice qui sert de monument à des Princes dont la mémoire leur devoit être trop chère pour l'avoir ainsi négligée. 2

Tallemant also claimed³ that Richelieu exchanged the domaine of Chinon with the King; as the inventory shows⁴ however, the exchange was slightly more complicated. The estate had been acquired on Richelieu's behalf from the Princesse de Conti for 60,000 livres, but the King also partly indemnified the Princess with the gift of some other

1. Félibien, Vie des Peintres, 1690, vol.2, p.574.

2. Mademoiselle de Montpensier, Mémoires, 1746, vol.1, p.25.

3. Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes, 1967, vol.1, p.251.

4. Inventory, fo.631v-639v.

lands. The details of Tallemant's malicious tale¹ concerning the acquisition of the barony of L'Isle Bouchard (or Bouchart) are also corrected by the Inventory.²

The barony was bought in December 1629 from Charlotte de Nassau, duchesse de la Trémouille, who was acting both in her own name as well as on behalf of her son Frédéric, comte de Laval. Whether or not the Cardinal tricked the Trémouille family into selling the land, believing that they would be paid an inflated price for it, Richelieu bought the estate for 180,000 livres, and not the "cent mille escus" (or 300,000 livres) which Tallemant would have us believe was the price.

The inventory lists other properties bought by Richelieu to augment his duchy, and altogether he seems to have spent around three quarters of a million livres in this way. A list of the Cardinal's landed possessions at the time of his death is to be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale,³ in which the duchy of Richelieu is classified as bringing in a revenue of 41,000 livres. This contrasts with a letter from the Archbishop of Bordeaux, Henri de Sourdis, written to Richelieu on 30 July 1633, to report that the newly formed duchy should bring in 55,000 livres a year.⁴ At that time, the duchy was divided into twenty small farms, so Sourdis suggested the appointment of a single fermier général to facilitate its administration, recommending La Rochegenty for the post.

Richelieu intended the château to be a showpiece, a setting for his collections of sculpture and paintings, rather than somewhere to live. He does not seem to have visited it after 1633; a letter⁵

1. Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes, 1967, vol.1, p.251.

2. Inventory, fo.591v-593r.

3. B.N. Fonds français, 18967 fo.112, and Ms. français, 3949 fo.194.

4. Arch. Aff. Etr. France, vol.809, fo.131-132.

5. B.N. ms. Collection Baluze, vol.333, fo.193.

from M. de Sainte Marthe mentions the visit as the occasion on which he had the honour of presenting his printed works to the Cardinal. There was a projected voyage in 1640, when he would have been accompanied by his niece, the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, and a letter survives written by her to Chavigny, asking whether the trip would take place or not.¹

Contemporaries noted the fact that Richelieu had never seen his palace in anything resembling a finished state. Tallemant wrote that:

Il n'a pas eu la satisfaction de voir Richelieu; il avoit trop d'affaires. 2

Aubery also wrote that the Cardinal:

ne s'est jamais soucié de le voir & qu'estant un jour sollicité vivement d'y aller, & d'avoir autant de curiosité que les Etrangers, que la passion de voir cette merveille faisoit sortir de leur pays, il s'en excusa & dit, que quand mesme il ne seroit qu'à dix lieües de RICHELIEU, & que les affaires du Roy l'appellassent ailleurs, il nauroit pas la moindre tentation d'y aller. 3

It is true that the château quickly became an attraction for tourists, both French and foreign, in a way that Rueil, which was much more of a home for Richelieu, never was. It is partly for this reason that the Château de Richelieu is so well documented, because amongst the multitude of visitors, many left records, however brief, in letters and journals which have since become available. In 1633 Michel de Marolles passed by the château which was, of course, in the early stages of its construction. Thiersanville made a longer description of its development in 1638, and Elie Backenhoffer and Balthazar Monconys were both to describe their visits in the years immediately following Richelieu's death. John Evelyn in 1644, and Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall in 1665, were English speaking tourists who wrote about their impressions on seeing the château and its gardens. In

1. Arch. Aff. Etr. France, vol.836, fo.18.

2. Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes, 1967, vol.1, p.252.

3. Aubery, Histoire du Cardinal Duc de Richelieu, 1660, p.614.

1663 La Fontaine wrote two letters to his wife describing the effect the château had on him. Claude Perrault was there in 1668, and the young Earl of Arran, heir to the dukedom of Hamilton, who was doing the grand tour of Europe with his tutor in 1676, saw the château in May of that year and paid £1 10/- for a description and drawing of it to send home to his father.¹

Richelieu chose the architect Jacques Le Mercier to design the château, but because he was also employed with Richelieu's building projects in Paris, which included not only the Palais Cardinal and the church and college of the Sorbonne, but the new fortifications for the town itself, he was unable to supervise the construction of the château personally. This task was given to Le Mercier's brother Pierre, who settled in the town, and used the title of "architecte du roy et de Mgr. le Cardinal". On his death in November 1639 a third brother, Nicolas, took over. The size of the undertaking was colossal, with not only the château and its associated buildings (the stables could cope with a hundred horses) to construct, but the town with its church and other public buildings, was emerging simultaneously. So it is not surprising to find other names associated with the architecture of Richelieu. Denis and Jean Barbet, respectively master mason and master architect, were brothers, and their name has already been mentioned in connection with the demolition of the Château de Champigny. Denis died in 1637, but in 1650 Jean was in a position to own three properties at Richelieu. It was he who

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1. Michel de Marolles, Mémoires, 1656, p.98.
 Bibliothèque de l'Institut, Coll. Godefroy, vol.220, fo.158ff.
 Elie Brackenholfer, Voyage en France, 1643-4, 1925, pp.221-232.
 Balthazar Monconys, Journal du Voyage, 1645.
 Evelyn, Diary, 1955, vol.2, p.150.
 Lauder of Fountainhall, Journals, 1900, Scottish History Society, vol.36, pp.25-29.
 La Fontaine, Oeuvres, vol.9, p.260.
 Perrault, Voyage à Bordeaux, 1909, p.150.
 Marshall, The Days of Duchess Anne, 1973, p.137.

built the houses in the town.¹ Another familiar name is that of Jean Thiriot who, together with his nephews François and Nicolas Durand, carried out a considerable amount of work at Richelieu. Thiriot does not seem to have lived there, unlike his nephews, and on two occasions he donated a house to Nicolas "en récompense de ses bons et agréables services".² Nicolas Durand died in 1665 and was buried in the church at Richelieu. One of his daughters was married to the artist Nicolas Prévost, who, as we shall see contributed a great deal to the decoration of the château.³

The plan of the château was not an unusual one, and indeed many contemporaries noted resemblances to other châteaux of the period. Mathieu de Morgues claimed that it was:

fait par ambition sur le plan de celui de Luxembourg.⁴

A vast, rectangular lower court, bordered by stables and gardeners' lodgings led to the forecourt. This was slightly smaller and was surrounded by more stables, servants' quarters and a riding school. Separated from the main court of the château by a moat, which went round the whole building, the main entrance gates at this point were topped by a large bronze statue by Guillaume Berthelot, the famous Renommée.⁵ On the first storey of these gates, facing the forecourt, was a marble statue of Louis XIII wearing classical dress, again by

1. Raveau, Un détail inédit de la construction de la ville de Richelieu, Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, 1919-1921, 3e. série, vol.5, p.260.
2. Jules Guiffrey, Artistes Parisiens des XVIe. et XVIIe. siècles, 1915, p.237, no.481 (donation of 7 March 1635), p.238, no.484 (donation of 29 July 1642).
3. Unless otherwise stated, the information in this paragraph is taken from Bosseboeuf, Histoire de Richelieu, 1890, pp.229-235, who traces the architects' family trees in considerable detail.
4. Mathieu de Morgues, Tres-humble, tres-veritable, & tres-importante remonstrance au Roy, p.52.
5. See Mlle. de Sainte Beuve, La Renommée de Bertelot, Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français, 1929, pp.60-64.

Berthelot, for which the sculptor was paid 425 livres in November 1635.¹ The façades of the château were decorated at ground floor level with busts, and at the first floor with antique statues set into niches. The two Esclaves, originally carved by Michelangelo for the tomb of Julius II, and given to Richelieu by Montmorency just before his execution, were placed on either side of the balcony on the first floor of the main block.² The ground floors of the main block and the two wings, as was usual, were used as the domestic offices, kitchens and servants' hall. The main staircase occupied a central pavillion in the main block: to the right of this on the first floor were the King's apartments and to the left, which was the only part of the château which remained from the original building, were Richelieu's rooms. The gallery, which is described in detail in Chapter 5 was contained in the left wing, while the right wing housed the Queen's apartments. Beyond these were rooms for her maids of honour, called the chambres de Lucrèce, de Porcie and de Moïse. Above the Queen's suite was the library, and this top floor of the château also contained many of the rooms destined for guests which were all called after characters from mythology, from contemporary novels, or historical figures. A list in the Bibliothèque Nationale gives the names of some thirty or more of such rooms:³ above Richelieu's apartments the rooms were called after Jason, Aaron, Isaac and Abraham (and another, rather sinisterly called La chambre du Jugement); above the Queen's rooms they were called after Ulysses, Alexander, Theseus, Caesar, Augustus and Neptune, and above the main staircase were two, named after Paris and Hector. Elsewhere there were rooms

1. Brièle, Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Hôtel-Dieu, 1887, vol. 4, p. 294.

2. Michon, Le Bacchus de Richelieu et les esclaves de Michel-Ange, 1901. (Extract from Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France.)

3. B.N. ms. Collection Baluze, vol. 326, fo. 110r.

dedicated to Armide, Dido, Clorinde, Flora, Priam, Achilles and Aboc, and above this last, the chambre de Zephirs.

The interior decoration and furnishings of the château were extremely luxurious by contemporary standards. Mathieu de Morgues speaks contemptuously of:

les lits molets, et riches tapisseries de Richelieu.¹

while John Evelyn simply says that the rooms are:

stately, most richly furnished, with Tissue, Damasque, Aras, Velvet: Pictures, Statues, Vases, & all sorts of Antiquities; 2

John Lauder of Fountainhall left a rather more explicit description of his visit:

The first chamber we entred into he called the chamber de Moyse, getting this denomination from the emblem hinging above the chimly, wheirin was wondrously weill done the story whow Pharoos daughter caused hir maid draw the cabinet of bulrushes wheirin Moses was exposed upon the Nile to hir sitting on the land. This room (the same may be repeated of the rest) was hung wt rich tapistery and furnished wt very brave plenishings, as chairs, looking glasses, tables and beds. For the praeserving of the curtains each bed had tours de lit of linnen sheets, which, causing to be drawn by, we fand some hung wt rich crimson velvet hingings; others wt red satin; others wt blew; all layd over so richly wt lace that we could hardly decerne the stuffe. 3

According to Desmarets de Saint Sorlin, who gave a description of the château in the eighth part of his long poem entitled Les Promenades de Richelieu, ou les vertus chrestiennes (1653), the chambre de Moïse was decorated in green and gold, the chambre de Porcie in pale blue, gold and silver, the chambre de Lucrèce in red and gold. The Queen's bed and furniture was covered with cloth of a violet ground, embroidered with flowers in multi-coloured silk, with silver and gold. The King's bed was in scarlet, heavily embroidered with gold

1. Mathieu de Morgues, Remonstrance au Roy, p.60.

2. John Evelyn, Diary, ed. 1955, vol.2, p.150.

3. John Lauder of Fountainhall, Journals, Scottish History Society, 1900, vol.36, p.26.

and silver, the Cardinal's in crimson, similarly embroidered.¹ The insistence on gold and gilding was overwhelming. Writing to his wife in 1663, La Fontaine admitted that after his visit:

à la fin, je m'en ennuyai. 2

The verdict in 1800 was even more damning. When Dufourney and Visconti were sent to the château to make a report on the statues, paintings and objets d'art they considered suitable for inclusion in the newly formed national museum, they formed the opinion that:

Les appartements du premier étage sont très décorés de sculptures, richement dorés, mais du plus mauvais goût et d'une lourdeur assommante. 3

The most famous artist connected with the decoration of the château was Simon Vouet, although his association was probably only on a consultative basis, as there is no evidence that he ever went to Richelieu. A mémoire sent to the Archbishop of Bordeaux in 1632 mentions Vouet twice in connection with the decoration of two rooms. In one, the former guard room, transformed into the cabinet du grand appartement:

il faut un plat fonds et un lambris de six pieds avec un relay beau et bien fait pour mettre aussy des raretez, tout designé par M. Vouet. 4

The instructions regarding the decoration of the other room on the first floor above the entrance are more complicated. Several artists were working on it, including one called "le peintre de Lion", who was contributing grisaille work on the vaulted ceiling. Others were embellishing the grisaille with gilding: the co-ordination of the painters was left to the Archbishop who was on the spot. Panelling

1. Desmarets de Saint Sorlin, Les Promenades de Richelieu, 1653, pp.53,54,55,57,60.
2. La Fontaine, Oeuvres, ed. Régnier, vol.9, p.269.
3. Tourneux, Mission de Dufourney et de Visconti au Château de Richelieu en 1800, Archives de l'art français, Nouvelle Période, vol.4, p.382.
4. Revue Universelle des Arts, 1855, vol.2, pp.120-122.

in the room was also to be painted in grisaille:

camaieux et or, revenant à la peinture de la
voute. M. Vouet fera fort bien le dessein des
peintures. 1

In August 1633 Richelieu again wrote to the Archbishop to tell him that Lemercier, Vouet and Perrier were to be consulted about the paintings for the ceiling of the gallery:

on vous enverra le dessein des tableaux promptement.²

It is not difficult to see why Vouet did not contribute more personally to the decoration of the château. Since his return from Italy in 1627 he had become an extremely popular artist in the French capital, undertaking both religious and private commissions, and in 1632 completed some important decorative work for the marquis d'Effiat at the Château de Chilly, where, with Perrier's assistance, he created a scheme for the long gallery. Richelieu was to employ Vouet to greater effect in the Palais Cardinal in Paris, although if we are to believe Félibien³ it was only with a certain amount of reluctance that he did so. Michel Dorigny is also believed to have worked at Richelieu. Better known as an engraver than an artist, he was a pupil of Vouet, and later married his daughter Angélique. Bosseboeuf⁴ claimed that he contributed part of the decoration of the Queen's garde-robe as well as the antichambre de Lucrèce, while Visconti and Dufourney have an even more interesting attribution.⁵ The paintings on the vaulted ceiling of the chapel, which at a later date became the ceiling of the grand salon when the chapel was split horizontally, were originally given to Fréminet. Since he died in 1619, the paintings would either have to have been made to fit into the vault, or the vault designed to accommodate the paintings. The commission-

1. Revue Universelle des Arts, 1855, vol.2, pp.120-122.

2. Avenel, Lettres, vol.4, p.477.

3. Félibien, Vie des Peintres, 1690, vol.2, pp.578-579.

4. Bosseboeuf, Histoire de Richelieu, pp.200-201.

5. Archives de l'Art, 1910, Nouvelle Période, vol.4, p.400.

ers of 1800 described them as remarkable, and perhaps the best in the whole château.

On y voit dans 8 compartiments les 4 Pères de l'Eglise, les 4 Evangélistes, et au centre, le Père éternel dans sa gloire. Ces 5 derniers morceaux se distinguent par la force de leur coloris et le grand caractère de leur dessein; la description imprimée les attribue à Fréminet, mais on n'y reconnaît guère sa manière, mais bien celle de Dorigny, l'un des meilleurs élèves de Vouet.

Félibien¹ says that Dorigny died in 1665, aged forty eight and a half, so this would have been an astonishing achievement for a young man who was not later to distinguish himself primarily as a painter.

The artist entrusted with the most important decorations of the château was Nicolas Prévost. He has suffered the reputation of being a somewhat lightweight painter, although Michel de Marolles placed him among the "bons peintres du temps".² He died in 1670 aged sixty-five, and was buried in the church at Richelieu where nearly thirty years previously he had married Antoinette Durand, the daughter of one of the architects of the château.³ He had spent some time in his youth in Italy, as in the Comptes des Bastimens of 1636 where he is named as peintre du roi, he is registered as:

revenu depuis peu d'Italie où il s'est rendu fort capable, et que Sa Majesté a retenu pour son service. ⁴

In this capacity he was paid an annual salary of 12,000 livres. Florent le Comte describes him as a pupil of Claude Vignon,⁵ and he was also known as a pupil of Vouet's, but his introduction to the Cardinal came from another source. Gaspard Daillon, Bishop of Albi, had been asked by Richelieu to transport two paintings by Poussin to

1. Félibien, Vie des Peintres, 1690, vol.2, p.486.

2. Michel de Marolles, Livres des Peintres, ed. Duplessis, 1872, pp.30,36.

3. Bosseboeuf, Histoire de Richelieu, 1890, pp.252-253.

4. Nouvelles Archives de l'Art français, 1872, vol.1, p.45.

5. Florent le Comte, Cabinet des Singularitez, vol.3, p.91.

the château in December 1636. In a letter reporting their safe arrival, dated 31 January 1637, he noted that:

Prévost travaille avec peine et soin aux tableaux de la galerie, et si je n'estois point cause qu'il sert V.E. je ne me pourrois empescher d'en dire beaucoup de bien. ¹

The panelling and ceiling of the gallery had not at that date been started, so Prévost was presumably working on the series of twenty paintings of battles and sieges of Louis XIII's reign, which, in the decorative context of the gallery, were to be compared to the noblest deeds of antiquity. A detailed description of the whole scheme is found in Chapter 5. Series of paintings such as this showing outstanding events in the life or reign of a personage were not uncommon in the seventeenth century, not only in royal circles but also amongst high officials and ministers. The gallery of Sully's Château de Villebon, near Chartres, had pictures of all his other properties, and another room was specially painted with scenes of the triumph of Ivry and, as Tallemant put it, other such extravagances.²

Prévost was also responsible for the paintings decorating the ceilings of the King's antechamber and bedroom. They depicted the history of Achilles; in the first room three octagonal paintings showed Thetis plunging her son into the Styx, Achilles being taken to Chiron to be educated, and being discovered among King Lycomedes' daughters. Above the door there was a picture of Achilles and Briseis. Three further paintings on the ceiling of the King's bedroom told the rest of the story: the battle with Neptune's son, the death of Hector, and Achilles' own death at the hands of Paris. Above the fireplace was the scene of the sacrifice of Polyxena at

1. Arch. Aff. Etr. France, vol.826, fo.88.

2. Tallemant, Historiettes, 1967, vol.1, p.50.

Hauteceur, Histoire de l'Architecture, 1966, vol.1(3), p.137.

Achilles' tomb.

The ceiling of the Cabinet du roi, the most magnificent of the rooms in this suite, showed the apotheosis of Hercules, while over the fireplace was that strange mythological portrait of Louis XIII and Richelieu, painted by Stella,¹ described in Chapter 5. According to Félibien² Stella painted a great many pictures for the château, but none of the others has been identified. The cabinet contained some of the best paintings in the château, including five which had once belonged to Isabella d'Este, and which had been presented to Richelieu by duke Ferdinand of Gonzaga.³ These paintings by Mantegna, Perugino and Costa were displayed together with three by Poussin, known as the three Bacchanales,⁴ which were specially commissioned from the artist in the mid 1630s when he was still living in Rome.

The Queen's apartments, though perhaps not quite so magnificent as the King's, were lavishly furnished and hung with precious tapestries. Her Cabinet had a series of ten portraits of famous women from antiquity, such as Judith, Esther and Cleopatra. It also contained a group of four paintings by Deruet symbolising the four elements, which is described in Chapter 5. The Queen's garde-robe had that favourite decorative device of the Cardinal's:

Lewis the 13 portraicts wt those of all the rest of
the royall family and the most part of the courtiers,
counsellors and statesmen of that tyme, togethir wt

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1. The painting is now in the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard. Freedberg, Lorenzo Lotto to Nicolas Poussin, Apollo, May 1978, pp.389-397. An illustration of the painting is on p.396.
 2. Félibien, Vie des Peintres, 1690, vol.2, p.656.
 3. Baudson, Apollon et les neuf muses du Palais du Luxembourg, Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français, 1941-1944, p.28. Hautecoeur, La Peinture au Musée du Louvre, Ecoles Italiennes, vol.1, pp.66,84,85,96.
 4. Blunt, Nicolas Poussin, pp.135f. and catalogue entries 136-8 Catalogue de l'Exposition Nicolas Poussin, 1960, no.45. Davies, National Gallery Catalogues: French School, pp.173, 187.

a embleme of the joy of the city of Paris at the nativity of this King. 1

The Cardinal's rooms began with a large room known as the "salle" which was in the old part of the château and which remained largely untouched from his father's day. Richelieu had added forty-three emblems characterising his career and personal qualities, which are described in Chapter 5. There were also valuable paintings including a Concert by Titian, which at one time was thought to depict Luther and Calvin, and a portrait of Queen Henrietta of England by Van Dyck. Richelieu's antechamber was decorated with paintings by Bassano, Rubens and Caravaggio, and family portraits. One of Champaigne's portraits of the Cardinal was hung in the bedroom, as well as a painting of St. Francis by del Piombo, given to Richelieu by Montmorency at the same time as the statues by Michelangelo.² The gallery of the château took up most of the left wing, and could be reached through Richelieu's cabinet. It was decorated by Prévost with paintings to point the parallel between events of Louis XIII's reign, and similar events of antiquity. It is described in more detail in Chapter 5. An antique bust was placed in front of each of Prévost's twenty pictures, including one in porphyry of Julius Caesar. These, though choice, were only a small part of the enormous collection of statues, busts and vases, antique, copies and modern, with which the château was crammed.

The main chapel on the ground floor was one of the last parts of the château to be decorated. Writing from Bourbon-Lancy on 27 September 1642, only a couple of months before his death, Richelieu noted to his secretary, de Noyers:

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1. Lauder of Fountainhall, Journals, Scottish History Society, 1900, vol.36, p.27.
 2. There has been some controversy as to whether the painting given by Montmorency was a St. Francis by del Piombo, or a St. Sebastien by Carracci. See Bonnaffé, Les Collections des Richelieu, 1883, pp.38-39.

On me mande de Richelieu que Prevost n'a rien à faire que les tableaux de la chapelle d'en bas, à quoy il ne travaille pas pour ne sçavoir pas quelle histoire on y veut mettre. Mr de Noyers luy fera, s'il luy plaist, sçavoir que je désire qu'il y mette la vie de la sainte Vierge. 1

We have already seen that throughout his life Richelieu displayed particular devotion to the Virgin. The chapel also contained an Assumption above one altar, attributed to Rubens.

The King gave his permission for the construction of a town at the gates of the château in 1631.² Thiersanville visited Richelieu in 1638, when he described the walls as:

peu espoisses et non tant faictes pour sa defence
que pour son ornement. 3

Succinctly described by Tallemant as "une ville de carte",⁴ the town was built on an extremely regular plan, with fourteen identical houses on either side of the main street, and a large square at both ends. The church, designed by Le Mercier and dedicated to the Virgin, which was on one side of the square nearest the château, was given into the care of the Congrégation de la Mission (of which St. Vincent de Paul was superior general) in 1638, and replaced that at Braye as parish church.⁵ To give some function to the artificially constructed town, the judicial and fiscal services of the neighbouring regions were transferred to Richelieu, and four annual fairs and two weekly markets were established.⁶

1. Avenel, Lettres, vol.7, p.149.

2. Brevet du Roy pour la construction des murs de la ville de Richelieu. 1631. Arch. Aff. Etr. France, vol.799, fo.101r.

3. Bibliothèque de l'Institut, Ms. Collection Godefroy, vol.220, fo.158v.

4. Tallemant, Historiettes, 1967, vol.1, p.252.

5. Mémoires de la Société Archéologique de Touraine, vol.31. Carré de Busserolle, Dictionnaire géographique, historique et biographique d'Indre et Loire de l'ancienne Province de Touraine, 1883, vol.5, p.302.

6. Dumolin, La construction de la ville de Richelieu, Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, 3e. série, vol.10, 1935, p.522.

In 1640 an Academy for the education of young nobles, both French and foreign, was established in the town.¹ This was a project dear to Richelieu's heart, since he had already had the idea of creating such an academy in Paris, in 1637, where twenty young gentlemen would be taught mathematics, history "et autres sciences", as well as the usual military skills.² At the Academy at Richelieu teaching would be done in French, and the projected course of study would take six years. Nicolas Le Gras, at one time confessor to the duc d'Orléans as well as being a doctor of medicine and an adventurer, was given the supervision of the Academy. Little would be known about this Academy, since it ceased to function after Richelieu's death, had not Le Gras written a book entitled L'Academie royale de Richelieu à Son Eminence, of which a copy is at La Rochelle, and another, incomplete copy is in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Réserves). It contains the speech given on the occasion of the installation of the Academy, preceded by a long dedicatory letter, in which Le Gras insists on the importance of the native language:

Les Royaumes & les Republiques n'ont jamais esté plus florissantes qu'au temps que le langage maternel est venu au point de la perfection: comme au contraire sa corruption a toujours esté un presage certain de la dissipation des Peuples, & une suite necessaire de la decadence des Empires.

Le reglement de la parole introduit insensiblement dans toutes les Provinces la conformité du langage, qui est le plus puissant lieu pour unir les différentes affections des Peuples sous une mesme Gouvernement, & pour les maintenir en parfaite intelligence, en laquelle consiste le bonheur & la prospérité des Etats. 3

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1. Declaration du Roy Portant Establissement d'une Academie & College Royal en la ville de Richelieu, & les Privileges attribuez à icelle. Ensemble les statuts et reglemens de ladite Academie. 20 May 1640. B.N. Ms Collection des Cinq Cents de Colbert, vol.164, fo.342-352v.
 2. B.N. Ms. Collection Dupuy, vol.550, fo.145-150.
 3. L'Academie Royale de Richelieu, dedication. For further information about the Academy at Richelieu, see Bataillon, L'Académie de Richelieu, Indre et Loire, Pedagogues et Juristes, (Congrès du Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de la Renaissance de Tours, 1960).

Despite these efforts to turn the town into a flourishing community, Richelieu and Sourdis, who was supervising all aspects of the construction of the château and town, found it extremely difficult to persuade enough people to build a house in a town in which, after all, they had no reason to live. Eventually, the larger houses bordering the main street and the squares were built by such people as Léon Bouthillier, Michel le Masle, Alphonse Lopez and Particelli, contrôleur général des finances. In other words, Richelieu put pressure on high officials and financiers who might owe their position to him in order to ensure that his little town was built. Its situation, too, set in flat, infertile land did not encourage the poorer sort of people to settle there. Indeed, as Sourdis pointed out to Richelieu in July 1633:

Il manque encore cinq maisons pour achever cete grande rue. S'il vous pouvez obliger quelques uns de dela à les bastir vous ferez beaucoup pource que d'esperer quelque chose des gens de ce pays, ce seroit en vain. Ilz sont si gueux qu'ilz non pas moyen d'elesver un pigeonnier.

Le Seneschal est Si pauvre qu'il ne peut bastir sa maison sans se ruyner, le Procureur est tout de mesme. 1

The later history of the château following Richelieu's death is dispiriting. It was lived in from time to time by his heirs, and indeed Louis XIV and his mother were entertained there in 1650.² As tastes changed, adjustments were made to the decorations, notably as we have seen, to the chapel, which was divided horizontally to form a salon in the upper half. An inventory made in 1788 mentions many of the paintings and statues, and particularly tapestries, which had been there since the Cardinal's day.³ In 1793 the château and its

1. Arch. Aff. Etr. France, vol.809, fo.131r.

2. Carré de Busserole, Dictionnaire, pp.315-316, published a contemporary description of the festivities which marked the occasion.

3. Archives Historiques de Poitou, 1901, vol.31, pp.477-561.

lands were confiscated from the fifth duke, though the property was returned to him after he had come back from exile, and his name had been taken off the list of émigrés. By this time, however, some of the better works of art had been acquired by the state, on the advice of Visconti and Dufourney, who had been commissioned to visit the château in 1800 for this purpose.¹ The duke subsequently sold the château, and it was gradually demolished. Only one pavilion of the original building now remains.²

One more building remains to be described in this chapter. The Hôtel du Luxembourg was bought by Marie de Médicis from the duc de Piney-Luxembourg in 1611, but she soon found that the hôtel was too small for the kind of residence she had in mind. After having some work done on it, she decided to build a palace beside it, and having acquired surrounding properties, work was started on the new palace in 1615. Richelieu was at that time the Queen Mother's intendant, and as such, had to undertake much of the supervision of the building and decoration.³ Marie de Médicis donated what was by now known as the Hôtel du Petit-Luxembourg to Richelieu in 1627, in a contract drawn up by Richelieu's lawyers, Guerreau and Parque, on 28 June.⁴ The gift was conditional: should the King or his heirs ever wish to reinstate the hôtel in the royal domain, Richelieu or his heirs would have to surrender it for an indemnity of 90,000

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1. Archives de l'Art Français, 1910, Nouvelle Période, vol.4, pp.351-411.
 2. For a recent photograph of this pavilion, see Auchincloss, Richelieu, 1972, p.218.
 3. See Chapter 5. Letters from Richelieu dealing with the construction of the palace are to be found in Avenel, Lettres, vol.1, pp.673-675, and vol.2, p.745.
 4. Inventory, fo.771r-772r. Also published by Hustin, Le Luxembourg, son histoire domaniale, architecturale, décorative et anecdotique, 1910, vol.1, pp.62-63.

livres. Richelieu had certainly lived in the Petit-Luxembourg before 1627. Bassompierre noted in his Mémoires that in March 1626 the Cardinal was ill and in bed in the hôtel,¹ but he was obviously sufficiently recovered the following month to be able to give a banquet there to celebrate his brother's elevation to the archbishopric of Aix. Six hundred livres were paid to Jacquette Dupont:

pour le disner et festin faicts par moy à l'hostel
du Petit Luxembourg le dimanche 21e jour de juing
1626 pour Monsieur l'archevesque d'Aix, le jour de
son sacre. 2

For the ceremony, Jehan Leclerc, marchant tapissier, was paid thirty-six livres for furnishing carpets and two altar cloths of cloth of gold, and transporting chairs from the Petit Luxembourg.³

Richelieu continued to live in the Petit-Luxembourg until the Palais Cardinal was ready for occupation. His niece, the duchesse d'Aiguillon lived there too, and in 1639 Richelieu gave her the hôtel, a gift which was confirmed in his will. While he lived there, Richelieu undertook some improvements.

Both Jean Le Maire and Manhole are supposed to have helped with the decoration of the hôtel. Le Maire had worked for Richelieu at Rueil where he painted the trompe l'oeil arch in the garden, and decorated the large theatre of the Palais Cardinal - his speciality was painting architectural scenes. Manhole, a Flemish artist, decorated the salon with landscapes.⁴ Sauval described the house as "fort délicateuse", and mentioned that the doors of the apartments:

sont en correspondance à perte de vue dans la cour et
dans le petit jardin du Luxembourg à travers le degré. 5

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1. Bassompierre, Mémoires, 1692, vol.2, p.357.
 2. Brièle, Documents pour servir à l'Histoire des Hôpitaux de Paris, vol.4, p.299.
 3. Brièle, Documents pour servir à l'Histoire des Hôpitaux de Paris, vol.4, p.299.
 4. Champier, Le Palais Royal, vol.1, p.34.
 5. Sauval, Histoire et Recherches des Antiquités de la Ville de Paris, 1724, vol.3, p.6.

Some relatively minor sums were spent on the maintenance of the building. François le Bossu, a locksmith, was paid 904 livres for work done between January 1633 and February 1634,¹ and in May 1633 sums of 180 livres were paid to Jehan de la Noue, a carpenter, and of 300 livres to Thomas Gobert, a mason. Both bills were paid by Jacques Picot, Richelieu's bursar, and the manuscript² notes that the work was carried out for Richelieu's niece, who seems therefore to have made the hôtel her permanent home by then.

When he died, Richelieu left his niece not only the house, but all the pictures and other works of art which were in the main apartment of the hôtel. She also inherited all the Cardinal's rings and precious stones, and it was this collection which Michel de Marolles described in his Mémoires, published in 1661, as being one of the best in Paris:

De sorte que l'on pourroit dire en quelque façon qu'il ne s'en perdit pas tant au sac de Mantoue qu'il s'en trouve en ces lieux-là, tant la magnificence y éclate. 3

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1. Brièle, Documents, vol.4, p.300.
 2. Bibliothèque Victor Cousin, Fonds Richelieu, fo.79r-82v.
 3. Marolles, Mémoires, 1656, vol.3, p.215.

PALAIS CARDINAL

The papers in Richelieu's inventory concerning the purchase of land and property for the construction of the Palais Cardinal and the provision of its water supply are to be found in folios 730r - 771r. A list of Richelieu's dealings connected with the palace was published by Champier¹ based on documents among the Orléans family papers in the Archives Nationales,² but because Champier's list only summarises the contracts, I have included a full transcript of the documents in this part of the inventory. All the contracts noted by Champier appear in the inventory up to the end of 1633, the last date for a transaction to be found in the inventory, but in the following cases the dates differ slightly between those in Champier's list (which are given in brackets) and those in the inventory:

7 October 1624 (7 September 1624) Hôtel de Fresne

6 October 1627 (15 September 1627) Maison de l'Hermine

7 September 1628 (- September 1628) House owned by
Lambert

18 June 1634 (17 June 1634) Land owned by Vouet

11 November 1634 (6 November 1634) Land owned by
Lemenestrel

17 & 20 March 1636 (17 March 1636) Two houses owned by
d'Aumont

17 & 27 March 1636 (16 & 27 March 1636) Property owned
by Boucher 3

12 December 1638 (9 December 1638) Maison du Pourcelet

There are four contracts included in the Inventory which are not in the Orléans papers, and these are as follows:

1. Champier, Le Palais Royal, 1900, vol.1, pp.463-467.

2. Archives Nationales, R(4) 281, 282.

3. In this case the inventory corrects what must be a misprint in Champier's list. The property was sold to Richelieu for 21,000 livres and not as Champier has it, 2,100 livres.

- fo. 757r,v 7 December 1634. Land owned by Phéliepeaux, bought by Richelieu for 51,192 livres
- fo. 757v - 758v 11 August 1635. Land owned by Parain, bought by Richelieu for just over 28,500 livres
- fo. 759v - 760v 28 January & 4 March 1636. Property owned by Veuve Canto and her children, bought by Richelieu for 40,000 livres
- fo. 763v - 768r 23 April & 5 June 1636. House owned by Langlois and others, bought by Richelieu for 6,000 livres

Champier lists a further eighteen contracts entered into by the Cardinal, including the purchase of the Hôtel Sillery opposite the palace, which was intended to be destroyed in order for a square to be constructed which would give a greater feeling of space and importance to the palace. The clearing of the Hôtel Sillery took place only after Richelieu's death. There was at least one other purchase of land mentioned in neither the inventory nor Champier's list. On 17 February 1635 Richelieu bought a site from Phéliepeaux de la Vrillière, though it is not known for how much.¹

In all, Richelieu spent nearly 1,040,000 livres on the acquisition of land and property in the rue Saint Honoré and its immediate vicinity.

Richelieu's desire to own a house in Paris sufficiently proximate to the Louvre was satisfied when, in the late autumn of 1624, he purchased for 90,000 livres a substantial building from Anne de Beauvilliers, widow of the Seigneur de Fresne. The house had previously belonged to the Angennes family, Seigneurs de Rambouillet,

1. See Chapter 4, p.121. B.N. Ms. France, nouvelles acquisitions, 15988 fo. 25v.

which is why it was known variously as the Hôtel de Rambouillet¹ and the Hôtel de Fresne. The main block of the house was separated from the street by a forecourt, and was hemmed in on the left by the Maison Lambert and on the right by the Maison de l'Hermine, both of which gave directly on to the rue Saint Honoré. Both were subsequently bought by Richelieu. The gardens behind Richelieu's new house were bounded by the old ramparts of the town: when plans were made in 1633 for the establishment of more distant fortifications, the King granted Richelieu 4,400 square toises² of these old ramparts, which enabled designs for the palace to be considerably modified and extended.

As the documents in the inventory and those published by Champier show, Richelieu acquired surrounding properties and land in a piecemeal fashion. Champier nevertheless demonstrates four distinct phases in the construction of the Palais Cardinal.³ It was no doubt because of the rather haphazard way in which Richelieu managed to buy adjoining houses that no initial, logical plan could be adhered to, and that because of this the building, construction work on which was finished in 1639, was criticised by contemporaries for its irregularity.⁴

The building and its history have been described in detail several times,⁵ so it is only necessary here to give a brief outline of its appearance in Richelieu's day. The palace took the shape of an irregular letter H. The forecourt was hidden from the street by

1. Not to be confused with the Hôtel de Rambouillet in which the celebrated marquise held her salon, in the rue Saint-Thomas-du-Louvre.
2. Champier, Le Palais Royal, 1900, vol.1, pp.20-21.
1 toise = 1.99 metres.
3. Champier, Le Palais Royal, 1900, vol.1, pp.22-23.
4. Sauval, Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris, 1724, vol.1, p.199.
5. Sauval, Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris, 1724, vol.2, pp.158-172.
Champier, Le Palais Royal, 1900, vol.1, pp.1-105.
Sauvel, De l'Hôtel de Rambouillet au Palais Cardinal, Bulletin Monumental, 1960, vol.118, pp.169-190.
Hauteceur, Histoire de l'Architecture classique en France, 1966, vol.1(3) pp.145-149.

the main entrance gates and a line of service buildings. The bar of the H was formed from the old hôtel bought from Anne de Beauvilliers, and a passage through it led to the main court, or cour d'honneur, which was wider and longer than the forecourt. The two courtyards were aligned on the left hand side. The main court was enclosed on its fourth side by a portico, beyond which were the gardens, and through which they could be seen. The library wing joined the left wing of the palace at a right angle, while the stables, stable yards and other ancillary buildings were beyond the right wing. Jacques Le Mercier was entrusted with the design and construction of the palace, though Sauval writes that Richelieu claimed sole responsibility, imputing to the Cardinal the somewhat generous motive of wishing to deflect criticism from the architect to himself in so doing.¹

If the architecture of the palace was deemed unsatisfactory and the disposition of the galleries, apartments and theatres uncondusive to comfort,² the decoration of the interiors was indisputably lavish. Richelieu used all the best available artists to create a residence worthy of his position and indeed it was perhaps because the Palais Cardinal was considered too sumptuous for a cardinal and minister of the Crown that Richelieu prudently donated his palace to the King in June 1636,³ retaining the usufruct during his lifetime. Richelieu intended the palace to be used solely by the reigning monarch or his direct heirs, but later in the century it was given to the Dukes of Orléans.

Historians of the Palais Cardinal have hitherto been unable

1. Sauval, Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris, 1724, vol.2, p.159.

2. The interiors were greatly modified after Richelieu's death, to the extent that within less than a hundred years they had been almost completely remodelled.

3. Act of Donation published by Champier, Le Palais Royal, 1900, vol.1, pp.38-39.

to describe with any accuracy its main apartments, since neither contemporary descriptions nor early architectural plans of these survive. A coloured plan of the building done on parchment owned by Richelieu¹ seems to have been lost. With the help of the inventory, however, it is possible to locate and describe the contents of the main rooms a little more precisely.

The main staircase was placed, rather obscurely, in the right hand corner of the main block facing towards the main court. The ground floor of this part of the building was occupied by Richelieu's gardes à pied or mousquetaires, and included the large salle basse des gardes² which contained only a table and three stools. On the other side of the passage way which divided the ground floor of the main block and which joined the two courtyards was a room which contained over forty large statues, mostly restored antiques, and three quarters of which were valued at between 1,000 and 2,000 livres.³ Seven of these statues (not always the most valuable) were taken for the King. In his will Richelieu bequeathed to the Crown, in addition to the items donated to the Crown in 1636, three beds and five sets of tapestries which were to be chosen by the Duchesse d'Aiguillon and de Noyers. He intended these to help decorate the palace. In the margins of the copy of the inventory published by Boislisle, however, were annotations apparently made by Mazarin indicating several pieces of sculpture which were appropriated for the King. Since Boislisle only published the part of the inventory which dealt with the sculptures it is not known, ~~though it is possible~~, whether pieces of

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1. Inventory, Item 1132 bis. Unevaluated.
 2. Inventory, Item 94. For the rest of this part of the ground floor, see fo. 32v - 36r.
 3. Boislisle, Les Collections des Sculptures de Richelieu, offprint from Mémoires de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France, vol.42, pp.23-29, nos.96 - 141.
Inventory, Items 1207 - 1251.

furniture and paintings were similarly retained for the King's use in this unauthorised fashion.

On the first floor of the main block the staircase led immediately into the salle des gardes which was used by the gardes à cheval who, unlike the gardes à pied, were all of noble birth. Laurent de la Hyre was commissioned to produce three paintings based on scenes from classical mythology for this room,¹ two of which, on entering, were on the left hand wall, and the third was on the far wall. The paintings depicted incidents in the lives of Perseus, Astyanax and Theseus. From the guard room it was possible to go in three directions: a small gallery served as a passage to the large theatre² which was in the right hand wing overlooking the forecourt, to the north overlooking the main courtyard was the "appartement neuf" or the Queen's apartments, later remodelled and used by Anne d'Autriche, and in the main block Richelieu's rooms lay directly beyond. One other set of rooms, the "appartement vert" was next to the Cardinal's own, and seems to have been situated partly in the main block and partly in the left hand wing overlooking the forecourt, separating the two galleries which occupied the two left wings of the palace.

The decoration of the rooms of the "appartement neuf", which were to become the Queen Regent's, was probably not entirely finished at the time of Richelieu's death. A small cabinet led from the guard room to the grande salle, and then in the order as they were described in the inventory there was a chambre and antichambre, the grande chambre, the grand cabinet doré and two anticabinets. Although sparsely furnished compared with the rest of the palace, these rooms

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1. Guillet de Saint Georges, Mémoires inédits sur la vie et les ouvrages des membres de l'Académie Royale, 1854, vol.1, p.108.
 2. Inventory, fo. 127r.

contained some remarkable pieces. The grande chambre must have been an enormous room: apart from a dozen arm chairs and fifty one stools¹ there was nothing else in the way of furniture. On the walls, however, was a set of twelve pieces of old tapestry showing the story of Tobias, measuring nearly sixty yards in all. Valued at 9,000 livres,² it was one of the sets chosen for the King. Also on the walls were twelve paintings by Claude Vignon which were intended to be used as cartoons for tapestries, but which, because of Richelieu's death, were never so utilised. They were valued together at nearly 10,000 livres³ and contained emblems and references to the King and his minister.⁴ Eleven of these paintings were from nine to thirteen feet wide and they were all apparently inherited by the Duchesse d'Aiguillon.

The chambre and antichambre contained another set of tapestries which was again one of those chosen for the King. They illustrated the story of Diana, and were woven in the Gobelins workshop, perhaps from the designs which Toussaint Dubreuil made of the myth for that factory.⁵ Together they were valued at 15,000 livres.⁶

The most important and valuable suite of furniture in the whole palace was housed in the grande chambre. It consisted of a bed and its accompanying fauteuils, folding chairs, table, screen and dais, all upholstered in the same white satin with rich gold embroidery, decorated with gold lace, buttons and cord, and lined in biscuit-coloured taffeta.⁷ The bed with its accessories was valued at 45,000

1. Inventory, Item 412.

2. Inventory, Item 413.

3. Inventory, Items 1133 - 1137.

4. Guillet de Saint Georges (Mémoires inédits sur la vie et les ouvrages des membres de l'Académie Royale, 1854, vol.1, p.271) relates an anecdote concerning these paintings. See p.179.

5. Weigert, French Tapestry, (English translation 1962,) p.103.

6. Inventory, Item 415.

livres, and was chosen as one of those left to the King. It did not remain in the Palais Cardinal, however, since it was used by Queen Christina of Sweden in the Louvre, during her state visit to the French Court in 1656.¹

Apart from a set of tapestries depicting the Metamorphoses after Ovid,² which were in one of the anticabinets, the "appartement neuf" otherwise only contained five fine mirrors, one valued at 500 livres in the grande chambre,³ and two valued at the same price in the grand cabinet doré.⁴ Two further mirrors, one in each of the anticabinets⁵ were slightly less magnificent. The only other mirror in the Palais Cardinal was in Richelieu's bedroom and was valued at 100 livres.⁶ The inventory does not list any paintings in these rooms except those by Vignon already described. Bonnaffé writes of several paintings which were supposed to be in the grand cabinet in Richelieu's time,⁷ including the famous Saint Anne by da Vinci which, he says, was brought back from Italy by the Cardinal, but which is not to be found in this copy of the inventory. Bonnaffé also lists the painting by Spada depicting Aeneas and ^Achises as being in this room, but as we shall see, the inventory places it elsewhere. Champier repeats much the same list,⁸ but says that it was Anne d'Autriche who brought the paintings together. It might be the case that some of paintings later hung in the grand cabinet had previously belonged to the Cardinal but were not listed in this copy of the inventory for presumably the same reason that the statues in the grande galerie had

1. Madame de Motteville, Mémoires, 1855, vol.4, p.61.

2. Inventory, Item 423.

3. Inventory, Item 417.

4. Inventory, Item 420.

5. Inventory, Items 422, 424.

6. Inventory, Item 453.

7. Bonnaffé, Les Collections des Richelieu, 1883, pp.14-15.

8. Champier, Le Palais Royal, 1900, vol.1, pp.114-115.

been excluded¹ - that is to say, they had been retained for the Crown.

The only paintings commissioned as decorative fixtures for the "appartement neuf" of which we can be certain include two works by Poussin.² Both were ordered in 1641 and were completed by November of that year, and both were for the grand cabinet. The first of the paintings to be finished was the Moses and the Burning Bush, which was to decorate the space above the mantelpiece.³ Richelieu owned another painting by Poussin in the Palais Cardinal which was also on a theme of the life of Moses,⁴ as well as a Head of Moses, reputed to have been painted by Guercino.⁵ A painting of Moses receiving the Tables of the Law was in the Château de Richelieu, and it is not difficult to understand why Richelieu should have found the theme of the life of Moses inspiring, nor why he should have chosen part of it to decorate one of the main rooms of his palace: the Cardinal was quite capable of visualising the rôle of the great biblical character leading the Jewish people in a time of crisis as a prefiguration of his own. The other painting commissioned from Poussin was a circular allegorical piece for the ceiling. Showing Time saving Truth from Envy and Discord, it too had its significance in demonstrating Richelieu's conception of his position in history.⁶

1. See below, p.63.

2. Sauvel (De l'Hôtel de Rambouillet au Palais Cardinal, Bulletin Monumental, 1960, vol.118, pp.181-182) writes that these paintings were in the cabinet du cardinal. Given the date of the commission and the fact that Richelieu's room was not called the grand cabinet, this suggestion must be mistaken.

3. Félibien, Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens peintres, 1690, vol.2, p.433.
Exposition Nicolas Poussin, (Louvre) 1960, no.64.
 Blunt, The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin: A Critical Catalogue, 1966, no.18.

4. Inventory, Item 1044.

5. Inventory, Item 999.

6. Félibien, Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens peintres, 1690, vol.2, p.433.
Exposition Nicolas Poussin, (Louvre) 1960, no.63.
 Blunt, The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin: A Critical Catalogue, 1966, no. 122.

Three paintings commissioned from the youthful artist Le Brun (born in 1619) were also hung in one of the rooms of the apartment.¹ Only one of these paintings, Hercules attacking Diomedes² is still extant, but Guillet de Saint Georges writes of two more, the Capture of Persephone and Hercules on the Funeral Pyre.³ No date for these paintings has been reliably fixed, though Thuillier believes that 1641 is the probable year.⁴ Certainly Poussin (who returned from Paris to Rome in November 1642) saw and admired the paintings in place, and predicted a brilliant future for the artist.⁵ Again the theme of Hercules was not a surprising choice of subject for Richelieu to make. It was used in the Château de Richelieu to much the same effect; the ingenious anagrammatical equation between ARMANDUS RICHELIEUS = HERCULES ADMIRANDUS has been described in the first chapter. The painting of Hercules attacking Diomedes remained in the palace until 1793, when it crossed the Channel for the sale of the collection of works of art of the then Duc d'Orléans which took place in London. It is now in Nottingham.

Compared with the magnificence of the other apartments in the palace, Richelieu's private rooms were relatively simple and consisted only of his bedchamber, a cabinet (in which he also ate) and two small garderobes. These rooms were in the main block, close to the guard room. The bedchamber was one of the first rooms to be decorated after Richelieu's acquisition of the Hôtel de Fresne: the ceiling was

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1. Sauval, Histoire et Recherches des Antiquités de la ville de Paris, 1724, vol.2, p.168. Sauval places them (though he only speaks of the Hercules) as in one of the rooms other than the grand cabinet.
 2. Exposition Charles Le Brun, (Versailles) 1963, no.2.
 3. Guillet de Saint Georges, Mémoires inédits sur la vie et les ouvrages des membres de l'Académie Royale, 1854, pp.4-5.
 4. Exposition Charles Le Brun, (Versailles) 1963, no.2, p.7.
 5. Nivelon, quoted by Thuillier, Exposition Charles Le Brun, (Versailles) 1963, no.2, p.7.

painted by Nicolas Duchesne in 1625 with paintings set into a blue and gold background.¹ There were only three paintings in the room, a copy of a Raphael virgin, a large painting of Mary Magdelaine by Guido Reni and a portrait of the future Louis XIV and his brother.² There was a fine set of Brussels tapestry of beasts and foliage,³ and a bed and set of chairs together valued at 3,600 livres whose hangings were made of flame coloured velvet, lined with silver cloth patterned in black and beige.⁴

Richelieu's cabinet contained no exceptional pieces of furniture, and the set of fifteen stools and six chairs was valued at only eighty livres.⁵ There was a harpsichord in the room,⁶ one of the few musical instruments to be found in the inventory, but no paintings or statues. Presumably the walls would have been hung with tapestries, and the inventory lists several sets in store. At the time the inventory was taken, however, the room seems to have been cleared.

The garderobe had eight paintings on the walls, including the only work by Georges de La Tour that Richelieu is known to have owned. This was a picture of Saint Jerome;⁷ La Tour painted two versions of the same theme, one of which is now in Grenoble and the other in Stockholm. The two paintings are very similar in many respects, but prominently displayed in the background of the Stockholm version is a cardinal's hat. It has been suggested that this detail was added at the request of the patron,⁸ and it is tempting to identify the Stockholm painting as the one which belonged to Richelieu.⁹ Another

1. Brièle, Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Hôtel-Dieu, 1887, vol.4, p.298.

2. Inventory, Items 1079, 1080, 1080bis (no artist or valuation).

3. Inventory, Item 454.

4. Inventory, Item 452.

5. Inventory, Item 457.

6. Inventory, Item 459. See p.64.

7. Inventory, Item 1084.

8. Pontus Grate, Quelques Observations sur les Saint Jérôme de Georges de La Tour, Revue des Arts, 1959, vol.9, p.20.

9. See also Exposition Georges de la Tour, (Orangerie des Tuilleries) 1972, nos.10, 11.



interesting painting in this room, since it is given one of the highest individual valuations of the paintings in the inventory was of the Château de Richelieu by Fouquières.¹ Valued at 2,500 livres, a sum only exceded by the Saint John by Raphael,² it was inherited by the Duc de Richelieu, but was not among those paintings sold by him to the King in 1665 following a wager, most likely because of its subject matter.³ Fouquières was considered by Félibien to be an excellent landscape painter, and he was commissioned to paint the principal towns and views of France for the grande galerie of the Louvre. He regarded his own work as the most important part of the scheme, a view not shared by Poussin who talked scathingly about "le baron Fauquer" pressing his claims to be in charge of the project:

prétendant que ses païsages soient l'ornement principal de ce lieu, le reste n'estant seulement que des incidens. ⁴

The only portrait of Richelieu himself described in the inventory was placed in his antichambre, a room not otherwise mentioned although it is possible that it was simply one of the two garderobes under another name. The portrait was destined for the Sorbonne where it was eventually hung over a mantelpiece in the library, facing a portrait of another great benefactor to the college, Michel Le Masle. Both paintings were by Philippe de Champaigne.⁵

Although not strictly part of Richelieu's private apartments, a more formally furnished room close to them was probably used by the Cardinal for doing business and receiving visitors. This was the

1. Inventory, Item 1088.

2. Inventory, Item 986.

3. Bonnaffé, Dictionnaire des amateurs français au 17e. siècle, 1884, p.275.

4. Félibien, Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens peintres, 1690, vol.2, p.335.

5. See Chapter 4.

chambre du conseil. The bed and matching furniture, covered in black velvet embroidered with gold and silver thread became Crown property,¹ as did the set of tapestries in the room which showed the story of Pompey.² The brass fire dogs were the most elaborate in the palace, and were decorated with fleur de lys motifs:³ the same royal emblems appeared on the purple velvet chair which was probably reserved for the Cardinal's own use, as it had no valuation.⁴ There was a single, large painting of the Battle of Amiens,⁵ an event which took place in 1597.

Access to the "appartement vert" from Richelieu's rooms was gained either directly through a small cabinet or through a passage off which ~~which~~ was the so-called cabinet des bronzes. In the cabinet next to Richelieu's rooms were a few more personal items such as lockable boxes and a writing table, a backgammon set, a chaise percée and a covered container for holding the scented water so necessary in the seventeenth century.⁶ Richelieu seems to have been particularly susceptible to perfume, and owned several pairs of scented gloves (known as gants de frangipane) which at the time were very popular as gifts or prizes.⁷ Sachets and cushions filled with sweet herbs and perfumes, to judge by the number of them listed in the inventory⁸ must also have been essential to him. They were used to keep rooms as well as clothes and linen fresh.

1. Inventory, Item 433.

2. Inventory, Item 435.

3. Inventory, Item 432.

4. Inventory, Item 434 bis.

5. Inventory, Item 1098.

6. Inventory, Items 765, 766, 770, 768, 769, 771.

7. Inventory, Item 840.

Avenel, Lettres, vol.3, pp.283, 448.

Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes, 1967, vol.2, p.305.

8. Inventory, Items 562, 564, 565, 567, 656, 657, 660, 667; see also 549. At Rueil, Items 1649-1652.

The cabinet des bronzes is described as "estant au passage proche l'appartement vert",¹ and later as "proche la chambre de Son Eminence".² There were two wooden cabinets in the room, one of German origin containing a collection of medals,³ and the other a disparate assortment of items mostly made of amber or agate, but including two small clocks, the scented gloves mentioned above and a miniature and medal showing the portrait of the Queen Mother.⁴ The dozen paintings on the walls were on the whole mediocre, though there was one small Head of Christ by Pourbus,⁵ the only work Richelieu owned by the hand of the principal Court artist of the previous reign. A third cabinet, and some furniture covered in red velvet⁶ were also in the room, as well as the marble bust of the Cardinal executed by Bernini.⁷ Contrary to expectations, Richelieu's collection of bronze figurines and conversation pieces was not housed here, but in a cabinet of the "appartement vert".

The "appartement vert" followed the fashion of the day, and took its name from the green damask cloth which covered the walls and furniture. The suite consisted of three contiguous rooms, each containing four armchairs and twelve stools, and each having its own cabinet. The first of these rooms was also called the département vert and was close to the small gallery, the second was the grande chambre, and the third the chambre (or cabinet) des bains. The cabinets attached to the first two rooms were decorated in green; one of them contained a collection of small bronzes and was probably

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1. Inventory, fo. 314r.
 2. Inventory, fo. 325r.
 3. Inventory, Item 796.
 4. Inventory, Items 825-845.
 5. Inventory, Item 1093.
 6. Inventory, Items 470, 471.
 7. Inventory, Item 1277. See Chapter 4.

situated off the grande chambre, and the other was most probably the room later referred to in the inventory as the cabinet des porcelaines. The cabinet of the chambre des bains was called the cabinet blanc. The impression given by the inventory is that these rooms suffered from an embarras de richesses, containing as they did some of the finest paintings and sculpture in the palace, inlaid furniture, clocks and objets de vertu, items of chinoiserie and individual collections of bronzes, crystal and porcelain. Like the two galleries, between which these rooms lay, the "appartement vert" was designed to demonstrate Richelieu's wealth and position in the most public way possible.¹

The chambre des bains is the least ambiguous of the rooms in the "appartement vert" to be described in the inventory. Apart from the furniture and green hangings mentioned above,² it also contained a Florentine table of inlaid marble in the centre of which was carved a seascape with a tower on a rock.³ It is possible that this table was specially made for the Cardinal, since that particular emblem was used more than once in his honour.⁴ The walls were decorated with fifteen paintings, including one by Niccolò dell' Abbate of Venus and the Three Graces⁵ and one of Cain and Abel by Andrea Sacchi.⁶ There was also a painting by Poussin of The Exposition of Moses,⁷ a theme

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1. Relying on the publication of the Inventory of Sculptures by Boislisle, previous writers, including Sauval (De l'Hôtel de Rambouillet au Palais Cardinal, Bulletin Monumental, 1960, vol.118, p.182) have assumed that the "appartement vert" consisted of one chambre and cabinet. The full inventory of course disproves this, but it is still occasionally unclear in which of the three rooms or their cabinets particular collections or pieces of furniture were kept.
 2. Inventory, Items 478, 479.
 3. Inventory, Item 1259.
 4. See Chapter 5.
 5. Inventory, Item 1037.
 6. Inventory, Item 1039.
 7. Inventory, Item 1044. Possibly the painting now in Dresden, which was painted 1627 - 1629, and which corresponds to the dimensions of this item. See Blunt, The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin: A Critical Catalogue, 1966, p.11, no.10.

which the artist painted five times. Richelieu's heir, the Duc de Richelieu, later owned two paintings by Poussin of the same subject but both were treatments of the theme produced after the Cardinal's death.¹ Another painting in the cabinet des bains, described as a copy after Poussin was of the Capture of Jerusalem.² This picture passed to the Duchesse d'Aiguillon and was subsequently sold: at that time, Félibien at least regarded it as an original.³ If the room did contain a bath it must have been immovable, since it does not appear in the inventory. There were two sets of hangings in store, however, designed to surround a bath,⁴ as well as a couple of clothes horses for airing towels.⁵

The cabinet blanc does not seem to have been furnished at all, since it is only mentioned once in the inventory, in the part already published by Boislisle. It contained six heads of marble and one of porphyry, two half life-size marble statues of Bacchus and Hercules, and four marble demi-relief sculptures.⁶

There were twenty-two paintings on the walls of the larger of the other two rooms, the grande chambre, including works by Caravaggio,⁷ Titian,⁸ Salario,⁹ Bassano,¹⁰ da Vinci¹¹ and a painting by Poussin entitled the Rape of the Sabines¹² which later belonged to the Duchesse

1. Blunt, The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin: A Critical Catalogue, 1966, p.13, nos.13,14.
2. Inventory, Item 1038.
3. Félibien, Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens peintres, 1690, vol.2, pp.321-322.
4. Inventory, Items 571, 716.
5. Inventory, Item 491.
6. Boislisle, Les Collections des Sculptures du Cardinal de Richelieu, 1882, pp.18-19, nos.39-51.
Inventory, Items 1160-1165.
7. Inventory, Items 994, 996.
8. Inventory, Items 995, 1007, 1009.
9. Inventory, Item 1001.
10. Inventory, Item 1013.
11. Inventory, Item 1006.
12. Inventory, Item 1002 bis. See Blunt, The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin: A Critical Catalogue, 1966, no.180.

d'Aiguillon, and which had probably been given to Richelieu by Cardinal Francesco Barberini. The room also contained a variety of precious pieces of furniture. There were two Chinese chests inlaid with mother of pearl¹ and a table and three cabinets inlaid with marble and semi-precious stones.² There were two ebony tables inlaid with lapis-lazuli and bloodstone³ and six gilded sconces⁴ as well as part of a valuable collection of clocks, tortoiseshell tables and inkstands, further inlaid cabinets and tables, a globe and other objets de vertu.⁵ The inventory does not specify which of these pieces were in the grande chambre, and which were in the adjoining cabinet.

It seems likely that the cabinet joining the grande chambre was also called the cabinet des bronzes. Many of the artists of the twenty-five paintings on the walls remain unidentified in the inventory but there was an important painting by Lorenzo Lotto of The Mystic Marriage of Christ and Saint Catherine⁶ and another by Niccolò dell' Abbate of Venus and the Three Graces,⁷ the same subject by the same artist as the painting in the cabinet des bains. The room was furnished with a day bed upholstered in green damask,⁸ a crystal chandelier⁹ and two chests and two cabinets made in China.¹⁰ A collection of bronze figurines by Giovanni Bologna¹¹ was kept in this

1. Inventory, Items 806, 807.

2. Inventory, Items 1264-1267.

3. Inventory, Item 1276.

4. Inventory, Item 1156.

5. Inventory, Items 812-824.

6. Inventory, Item 1069. Perhaps the painting now in the Pinakothek, Munich.

7. Inventory, Item 1070.

8. Inventory, Item 484.

9. Inventory, Item 485 bis.

10. Inventory, Items 808-811.

11. Inventory, Items 1173-1186.

Boislisle, Les Collections des sculptures du Cardinal de Richelieu, 1882, pp.20-21, nos.60-73.

cabinet together with other pieces of sculpture, including the bronze bust by Warin of Richelieu himself.¹

The smaller of the two chambres of the "appartement vert" was decorated with fourteen paintings including items by Pietro da Cortona,² Albani,³ Bassano,⁴ Veronese⁵ and two paintings by Claude Lorraine, one a landscape with the Rape of Europa⁶ and the other a landscape with Narcissus surrounded by Nymphes.⁷ The first of these used a theme Claude treated several times, and on the back of the drawing of its first representation in the Liber Veritatis, a sketch-book kept by the artist to prevent fraudulent copies being passed off as his own work, he wrote that it had been sent to Paris.⁸ Of the second painting, however, Röthlisberger writes that Claude only once painted the subject and that according to the Liber Veritatis the work was destined for England.⁹ The two paintings in Richelieu's collection were the same size, were valued at the same price of 1,000 livres and were obviously treated as a pair. The Duc de Richelieu later owned two paintings by Claude, so it seems likely that he inherited these two works from his great-uncle. The furnishings in this room were similar to those in the grande chambre, with six matching sconces,¹⁰ inlaid furniture¹¹ and, of course, the previously mentioned furniture.

The cabinet adjoining this room was small and contained only seven paintings, two of which were by Fréminet.¹² It was probably in

1. Inventory, Item 1276 bis. See Chapter 4.

2. Inventory, Item 1015.

3. Inventory, Item 1017.

4. Inventory, Item 1025, and copy, Item 1026.

5. Inventory, Item 1027.

6. Inventory, Item 1019.

7. Inventory, Item 1020.

8. Röthlisberger, Claude Lorraine, The Paintings, (Yale) 1969, p.276.

9. Röthlisberger, Claude Lorraine, The Paintings, (Yale) 1969, p.222.

10. Inventory, Item 1157.

11. Inventory, Items 846, 847, 1260-1263.

12. Inventory, Items 1030, 1031.

this cabinet, which separated the smaller gallery from the "appartement vert", that Richelieu kept his collection of crystal. Some of the pieces were extremely valuable, including a large oval basin and a double handed vase, both decorated with applied bands of enamelled gold and valued each at 1,200 livres.¹

It is difficult to tell whether the room which housed the porcelain collection was part of the "appartement vert" or whether it was simply very close to it. It was probably part of the cluster of rooms which were between the "appartement vert" and Richelieu's rooms, and it merged with the appartement. The collection of china included one large and eight medium sized urns, and two large Chinese ashets valued at the same price of one hundred and twenty livres as two hundred and thirty small dishes and plates. Altogether there were nearly three hundred and ninety pieces of porcelain² as well as a few sigillated pottery vases made by Cléricy, a craftsman from Marseille.³ The walls were covered with abbut fifty portraits, mostly of French kings, queens and nobles, but there were also two pastel heads done by Louis XIII⁴ which were tactfully unevaluated.

It is now clear, judging from Sauval's description⁵ that these rooms of the "appartement vert" later became the King's apartments when the palace became Crown property, and the Queen Regent moved there with her two sons.

1. Inventory, Items 947, 948.

2. Inventory, Items 798-805.

3. Inventory, Items 1271-1275. Another of his vases, identified by Boislisle, was in the cabinet des bronzes of the "appartement vert" (Inventory, Item 1206).

4. Inventory, Item 1116 bis.

5. Sauval, Histoire et Recherches des Antiquités de la ville de Paris, 1724, vol.2, p.161.

The smaller of the two galleries, the petite galerie or the galerie des objets d'art was situated in the left hand wing overlooking the forecourt. According to Sauval,¹ Philippe de Champaigne had been in charge of the decoration of this room, although he himself had only contributed the five ceiling paintings which represented a panegyric of the Cardinal,² designed to underline his virtues such as care of the public weal, his protection of the arts and so on. These paintings were set in a vaulted ceiling against a background of mock mosaic painted in gold, interspersed with Richelieu's initials, laurel wreaths and naval emblems. A series of Italian landscapes was set into the wainscotting and the upper part of the chimneypiece was decorated with a trompe l'oeil frieze done in black and white. Part of Richelieu's collection of old masters and antique sculptures was housed in this gallery, and in Sauval's opinion,³ had Richelieu lived longer, he would have turned this, his favourite part of the palace, into its showpiece. As it is, the inventory lists several of Richelieu's choicest paintings as having decorated the walls, and they included the most valuable picture in the whole collection, the Saint John by Raphael,⁴ six works by Jacopo Bassano (including a set of the Four Elements valued collectively at 5,000 livres⁵), a small Head of Flora by Leonardo da Vinci⁶ and three paintings by Rubens.⁷ These three paintings by Rubens, all the same size and valued each at eight hundred livres, are the only works by that artist to be mentioned in the inventory of the Palais Cardinal. Richelieu had commissioned

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1. Sauval, Histoire et recherches des Antiquités de la ville de Paris, 1724, vol.2, p.164.
 2. See Chapter 5.
 3. Sauval, Histoire et recherches des Antiquités de la ville de Paris, 1724, vol.2, p.164.
 4. Inventory, Item 986.
 5. Inventory, Items 987, 988, 989.
 6. Inventory, Item 990.
 7. Inventory, Items 991, 992, 993.

two paintings from the artist in 1626 and had probably already obtained one in 1624, at the time when Rubens was working on the series of paintings for the Luxembourg gallery.¹ Rubens' letters to Valavez, Peiresc's brother² give no indication of the subject matter, but many suggestions have been put forward as to what they might have been. Dubois de Saint Gelais³ in 1727 writes that two paintings then in the Palais Royal had been owned by Richelieu, a Judgement of Paris and a painting of Saint George. Bonnaffé mentions a Diane au bain, bought after the artist's death in 1641 for 3,000 écus,⁴ with which the Cardinal was so delighted that he sent the widow a gold and diamond watch. In the Château de Richelieu there were two other paintings by Rubens, a Lion Hunt, which was a copy of a painting done for the Elector Maximilien,⁵ and an Assumption of the Virgin which was in the chapel. All three paintings in the Palais Cardinal have biblical themes: one was a Nativity, one was of Samson and Delila, and the third was of Abraham and Melchisadek.

A collection of thirty-two busts set on pedestals was also housed in the small gallery. Of these, eleven were made of bronze, and the rest were of marble or alabaster: ten of the busts are specified in the inventory as antiques.⁶ There was also a life-size figure of Diana, an antique sculpture valued at 450 livres and which was acquired by the King after Richelieu's death, although it had not been specifically left to him.

Strangely, perhaps, the inventory makes no mention at all of

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1. For details of the Luxembourg gallery and Richelieu's participation in the scheme, see Chapter 5.
 2. Thuillier & Foucart, Rubens' Life of Marie de' Medici, (New York) 1967, pp.120, 123.
 3. Dubois de Saint Gelais, Description des Tableaux du Palais Royal, avec la vie des peintres à la tête de leurs ouvrages, 1727, p.415.
 4. Bonnaffé, Recherches sur les Collections des Richelieu, 1883, p.15.
 5. Bonnaffé, Les Collections des Richelieu, 1883, p.36. Bonnaffé considers that this painting was also partly the work of Sneyders and Rouquières.
 6. Boislisle, Les Collections des sculptures de Cardinal de Richelieu, 1882, pp.15-17, Items 2-33. Inventory, Items 1139-1153.

any furniture in the small gallery. Those people who were allowed into it were no doubt expected to stand and admire the decorations and ponder upon the ceiling paintings, whose overt allegorical message was too much for Anne d'Autriche: during the regency the small gallery was broken up in order to provide apartments for her second son, the Duc d'Anjou, but the work was never completed.¹

A small cabinet next to this gallery, and described as "sur la rue" contained two fine paintings, but does not otherwise appear to be mentioned in the inventory. The first picture represented Aeneas decorating his father Anchises' tomb, and might be the painting Bonnaffé describes as Enée sauvant son père Anchise by Spada, which Richelieu bought from the heirs of the Maréchal de Créquy.² The second painting was of Numa Pompilius: the two paintings were framed alike, were the same size and were both valued at one thousand livres.³

The larger of the two galleries, the famous Galerie des Hommes Illustres occupied the whole of the first floor of the left wing which overlooked the main court. Its decorations and in particular their important iconographical aspect will be extensively discussed in Chapter Five. The gallery was generally regarded as being ill-proportioned, and Sauval judged it "un peu obscure, & meme basse & étroite".⁴ It, too, was the setting for a great many of Richelieu's sculptures, busts and bronzes, and indeed nearly a quarter of his whole collection was housed here. They were, in their entirety, retained for the King after Richelieu's death. They included fourteen antique busts in marble, busts of the French kings Henri III, François I and Charles IX, and several bronze casts taken from antique

1. Champier, Le Palais Royal, 1900, vol.1, p.115.

2. Bonnaffé, Les Collections des Richelieu, 1883, pp.14-15.

3. Inventory, Items 984, 985.

4. Sauval, Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris, 1724, vol.2, p.166.

heads. There were also four less than life-size statues of Juno, Venus, Bacchus and one unidentified figure, all of which were antique.¹

The gallery was sparsely furnished, with only two red and green Italian marble tables² and a couple of mediocre chairs.³ There was also, however, a magnificently elaborate table, completely inlaid with semi-precious stones.⁴ This was valued at 5,800 livres, one of the highest valuations to be put upon a single piece of furniture in the palace. It will be remembered that Richelieu had a similar inlaid table in the gallery of the Château de Richelieu which was much praised by contemporaries.

Access to the main chapel was gained directly through the Galerie des Hommes Illustres, the door being situated roughly two thirds of the way down the one hundred and fifty foot long room. The chapel was decorated by Vouet in 1632 or shortly thereafter,⁵ and as an altarpiece he painted an Annunciation, subsequently engraved by Dorigny. For the ceiling he produced a God the Father surrounded by Angels, with four other circular paintings of the cardinal virtues. There is no mention in the inventory of any furniture, apart from a simple wooden table⁶ and a couple of Turkish carpets,⁷ but there were two beautiful statues, both about five feet high and incised with Richelieu's arms at the bottom. One was of the Virgin holding the

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1. Boislisle, Les Collections des Sculptures du Cardinal de Richelieu, 1882, pp.31-34, nos.150-191. This copy of the inventory does not include these statues in the Galerie des Hommes Illustres, nor does it have one other statue, a bronze gladiator which was in the garden, valued at 4,300 livres and which was likewise kept for the King.
 2. Inventory, Item 1268.
 3. Inventory, Item 431.
 4. Inventory, Item 1277 bis.
 5. Félibien, Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens peintres, 1690, vol.2, p.185.
 6. Inventory, Item 428.
 7. Inventory, Items 429, 430.

infant Jesus with an apple in his hand, and the other was of Saint John the Baptist, an animal skin around his shoulders.¹ Valued together at 3,600 livres they were also amongst those statues kept for the King. The most striking part of the chapel, however, was its ecclesiastical ornaments, a massive and elaborate collection of diamond studded gold plate. This grande chapelle de diamants had been donated to the Crown at the same time as the Palais Cardinal itself, and although the list of ornaments as given in the Act of Donation of 1636 differs slightly from the list in the inventory,² it was a most valuable gift indeed, evaluated in 1646 at Anne d'Autriche's instigation at 203,197 livres.³

Another chapel lay immediately beneath the main chapel, presumably used by members of Richelieu's household. A painting of the Annunciation, its only decoration, was on the walls.⁴ A small private oratory was situated not far from Richelieu's own apartments and contained an organ valued at four hundred livres.⁵ The Cardinal was extremely fond of music and professional musicians were always included in his household.⁶ They, however, would have owned their own instruments, and so the only other musical instrument to find a place in the inventory, underlining Richelieu's taste for music, was a harpsichord kept in the room in which he was in the habit of taking his meals.⁷

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1. Boislisle, Les Collections de sculptures du Cardinal de Richelieu, 1882, p.30, nos.147-148.
 2. Inventory, fo. 1108v-1109r. See Introduction to Inventory.
 3. Champier, Le Palais Royal, 1900, pp.72-74.
 4. Inventory, Item 96. Not included in the main inventory of paintings, but retained by the Crown (Inventory fo. 1130r) and valued, together with the altar, at 40 livres.
 5. Inventory, Item 441. Retained by Crown (Inventory fo. 1131v).
 6. Deloche, La Maison du Cardinal de Richelieu, 1912, ch.11.
 7. Inventory, Item 459. See p. 51.

Richelieu's collection of books and manuscripts, of which he took immense care, was housed in a special building which projected from the left wing of the palace. It was decorated with fifty-eight portraits of famous men, valued collectively at five hundred and twenty two livres.¹ Richelieu gave precise and detailed instructions in his will for the upkeep and management of his library, including the provision for the making of an inventory. This was done in 1643 by Blaise and Geoffroy, who had been Richelieu's librarians.² The Cardinal's provisions were not adhered to, however, and the Duchesse d'Aiguillon ceded the books and manuscripts to the Sorbonne after her uncle's death, though it was not until after a parliamentary edict in 1660 that the books were actually transported there.³

The interest Richelieu displayed towards literature, and towards the theatre in particular is reflected in the fact that there were no less than two salles de comédie in the Palais Cardinal, both of which were housed in the right wings of the palace. The first and smaller of the theatres was situated in the northern half of the right wing, near the gardens. It was ready in 1635 and was decorated by Philippe de Champaigne and Georges Buffequin.⁴ Sauval wrote that five to six hundred people could be seated there, although the inventory mentions only twenty armchairs, ten benches, eighty-four small stools and twenty

1. Inventory, Item 983.

2. Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms. 4270, 4271, 4272. Ms. 4272 is a much more legible copy of Ms. 4270 and 4271, up to and including Item 5641. Ms. 4271 lists 6135 Items, with a further 250 in a separate category.

3. Champier, Le Palais Royal, 1900, vol.1, p.75.

4. Buffequin was paid 300 livres for his work in December 1635, (Brièle, Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Hôtel-Dieu, 1887, vol.4, p.292.) Champaigne's receipt was also among Le Masle's papers, left to the Hôtel Dieu and subsequently burnt, (Brièle, Documents, vol.2, pp.62-3).

cushions.¹ The room was first used in the winter of 1635 for an entertainment which lasted four days, given by the Cardinal in honour of Mademoiselle, Gaston d'Orléans' daughter. Aged only nine years old, she and other youthful members of the nobility danced a ballet during which live birds were let loose, causing some consternation to Claire Clémence de Brézé, the Cardinal's little niece.² It was for this occasion that twenty-three crystal chandeliers were hired,³ presumably in addition to the four such chandeliers already in the theatre and which are mentioned in the inventory.⁴ Next to the small theatre was a workroom used by the "décorateur du théâtre", furnished with some tapestries, four tables and a stool.⁵ The position of theatre decorator was held for several years by Buffequin who died in 1641 in the Palais Cardinal, and who was described in the parish register of Saint-Eustache as a "peintre et artificier-ingénieur du roi".⁶ It was he who was responsible for designing the sets and complicated machinery required for the plays and ballets performed in the Palais Cardinal, and it was he who produced the designs for Mirame, the play chosen by Richelieu to inaugurate the new, larger theatre in January 1641.

In 1639 Richelieu managed to buy the Maison des Trois Pucelles, and only when this building had been pulled down was it possible for Le Mercier to design the new theatre. It formed the right hand wing to the forecourt, or rather, occupied the first floor of that wing, whilst underneath were small store rooms and vestibules. Initially, no provision was made for public access, and the theatre was entered

1. Inventory, Items 98-102.

2. Mademoiselle de Montpensier, Mémoires, 1746, vol.1, pp.10-11.

3. Brièle, Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Hôtel Dieu, 1887, vol.4, p.294.

4. Inventory, Item 97 bis.

5. Inventory, Items 104-108.

6. Quoted by Champier, Le Palais Royal, 1900, vol.1, p.29.

from the main block of the palace. It was only when Molière took over the theatre in 1660 that an entrance was made leading to the rue Saint Honoré.

There was much enthusiasm for the ingenious way Le Mercier had made use of the long, narrow space in order to allow all the spectators a good view of the stage. A double row of balconies ran along either side of the room, and a series of twenty-seven straight steps rose gradually from the floor: three hundred and twenty benches provided seating for around twelve hundred people.¹ The flat ceiling was painted with a trompe l'oeil vault, an idea of Le Mercier's designed to combat any feeling of oppressiveness, and executed by Le Maire, who also produced another famous piece of trompe l'oeil for Richelieu, the painted "arch" in the gardens of Rueil.²

Naturally, the large theatre was not excessively used during the twenty-two months which Richelieu had left to live. Mirame, written by Desmarets de Saint Sorlin and Richelieu, was given more than one performance, and in February 1641 a ballet entitled La Prospérité des Armes de France was danced to celebrate the marriage between Mademoiselle de Brézé and the Duc d'Enghien. Europe, another play resulting from the literary co-operation between Desmarets de Saint Sorlin and Richelieu was produced shortly before Richelieu's death. It is fitting that the room in which these plays were probably written was so close to the theatre itself: simply furnished with tables, benches and a pair of cupboards, it contained no bed and so could only have been used as a study.³

1. Inventory, Item 64.

2. See Chapter 3, pp.94-95.

3. Inventory, Items 76-84.

The inventory does not simply inform us of the furnishings and decorations of the palace, but records all the items of silver plate, household linen and ecclesiastical vestments, jewellery and precious stones, arms and armour, kitchen equipment and all the other things one would expect to find in such a household.

Richelieu's considerable collection of silver and silver-gilt plate was kept in the Palais Cardinal. There was no silver at all at Rueil, and the service which had been specially made for the Château de Richelieu was only sent there when a particular occasion demanded.¹ When Richelieu was travelling, or when he was at Rueil, part of his silver plate accompanied him. The collection represented an enormous investment, and indeed it was used on occasion to guarantee a loan when financial resources were scanty.² The inventory of Richelieu's silver was undertaken by Jacques de Launay, a Parisian goldsmith who had supplied Richelieu with much of his plate. The list makes impressive reading, a far cry from Richelieu's early days as bishop of Luçon when he hankered after two dozen silver plates, explaining in a letter that when he managed to acquire them, "ma noblesse sera fort relevée".³ At his death he owned no less than fifty-four dozen bowls and plates, some in silver and some in silver-gilt, not to mention large basins and serving dishes, salt cellars, fruit baskets, sweet dishes, flagons and table ornaments.⁴ There was an engraved silver set of ecclesiastical ornaments,⁵ silver chandeliers and even silver cooking pots and kitchen utensils. Richelieu's eating habits were frugal, and he probably frequently used the only silver pot à bouillon mentioned in the inventory.⁶

1. Avenel, Lettres, vol.6, p.914.

2. Deloche, La Maison du Cardinal de Richelieu, 1912, p.439.
Avenel, Lettres, vol.6, p.174, vol.8, p.165.

3. Avenel, Lettres, vol.1, p.27.

4. Inventory, fo. 332v-375r.

5. Inventory, Items 918-928.

6. Inventory, Item 916.

Not all of Richelieu's silver was specially made for him: some of his finest pieces in engraved silver-gilt had been sold by the Duc de Chevreuse in 1634, and were acquired for Richelieu on de Launay's valuation of twenty seven livres the marc. In 1643 they were valued at twenty-nine livres the marc, and had, of course, been re-engraved with the Cardinal's own coat of arms.¹

In 1638 Richelieu reckoned that his silver plate was worth more than 200,000 livres,² and in July 1640 he wrote to Bullion that in Paris he had silver plate worth 150,000 livres (as well as gems valued at the same amount) which could be used in an emergency as collateral for a loan.³ In the inventory, the silver plate was valued at 237,000 livres: the buffet d'argent blanc ciselé worth nearly 90,000 livres passed to the Crown, while the buffet d'argent vermeil doré was left to the Duchesse d'Aiguillon. All Richelieu's silver was in the care of his garde-vaisselle Pierre Benard, who was nicknamed, appropriately enough, La Ruine.⁴

The total value of the diamonds, gems, gold chains and precious boxes listed in the inventory⁵ is slightly over 58,000 livres. The inventory does not list the large, heart shaped diamond left to the Crown, which Bonnaffé estimated was worth 300,000 livres,⁶ but even so, only a dozen stones were valued at more than one thousand livres, the most expensive of which was judged to be worth 9,000 livres.⁷

1. Deloche, La Maison du Cardinal de Richelieu, 1912, pp.438-439. Inventory, Items 857, 858, 864, 867.
2. Avenel, Lettres, vol6, p.174.
3. Avenel, Lettres, vol.8, p.165.
4. Deloche, La Maison du Cardinal de Richelieu, 1912, p.548. In the Palais Cardinal Benard was allotted a chambrette, (Inventory, fo. 14r-14v).
5. Inventory, Items 971-982, 1318-1363.
6. Bonnaffé, Recherches sur les Collections des Richelieu, 1883, p.18.
7. Inventory, Item 1315.

Richelieu left all his jewellery to the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, and it is possible that some of it had found its way out of the Palais Cardinal before the inventory was taken.¹ Items 1318-1363 were in any case in the Duchess' possession in the Petit Luxembourg when they were valued,² so it is perhaps not entirely surprising that the valuation of the inventory does not live up to Richelieu's own estimation of what his gems were worth.

The amount of linen listed in the inventory reflects not only the size of the household but also Richelieu's insistence on cleanliness. There were five hundred and thirty five tablecloths, forty-four dozen sheets, and one hundred and forty-five dozen serviettes, both napkins and towels, of differing sizes.³ It was the daily duty of the garde-linge to issue fresh table linen and to ensure that it was properly laundered by the blanchisseur to whom this task was contracted out.⁴ In 1639 the post of garde-linge was filled by Pierre Lefebvre,⁵ but by 1642 he had been replaced by Brossaud.⁶

1. See Introduction to the Inventories.

2. Inventory, fo.528v.

3. Inventory, Items 710-764, 771 bis-795.

4. Deloche, La Maison du Cardinal de Richelieu, 1912, pp.441-442.

5. Deloche, La Maison du Cardinal de Richelieu, 1912, p.549.

6. Inventory, fo. 148v.

CHÂTEAU DE RUEIL

The château de Rueil (or Ruel as it was then written) was Richelieu's favourite country residence. It had been built for Jean Moisset and quickly became famous for the beauty and originality of its gardens. Richelieu became the owner of the château in 1633,¹ paying 105,800 livres for the château and 41,200 livres for the droit d'aides in the town. Cramail says that the money was only paid in 1635, and that the receipt dated 27 December 1633 simply acknowledged the promise, not the fact, of payment.² A copy of this receipt was among Richelieu's papers, as was the original:

Loriginal de ladicte quittance Signé angran d'Icelle
Somme de Cent Quarente Sept mil Livres receu dudict
Seigneur cardinal. 3

If the date of the receipt of the money had been different it would surely have been noted. A confusion may have arisen because of the fact that Richelieu only acquired the lands of the estate in 1635, exchanging them with the Abbey of Saint Denis (to which they belonged) for rentes totalling 12,000 livres. However, Richelieu used Rueil before then as celebrations were held there to mark the baptism of Armand de Vignerod in 1631. Richelieu and the Duchesse d'Aiguillon were the godparents.⁴

Richelieu spent large sums of money restoring and enlarging the château, and improving the gardens. The Duchesse d'Aiguillon inherited the property from her uncle, and at the time when Louis XIV was contemplating an enforced purchase of the château she wrote a

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1. Not in 1621 as Jaquin and Duesberg (Rueil, Le château de Richelieu, 1845, p.31) and Hauteceur (Histoire de l'architecture classique en France, 1966, vol.1(3), p.140) claim.
 2. Cramail, Le Château de Ruel et ses Jardins, 1888, p.6.
 3. Inventory, fo. 714r-715r.
 4. Cramail, Le Château de Ruel et ses Jardins, 1888, p.10.

a memorandum detailing the sums expended by the Cardinal.¹ The list of expenditures in this Mémoire reaches a total of 1,179,000 livres, and includes the original purchase price as well as 250,000 livres spent by the Duchess herself after she had inherited the property. Unfortunately, the arithmetic of either the Duchess or her secretary was poor. A sum of 36,000 livres appears twice in the final addition, though only once in the Mémoire, but even disallowing this mistake, the total she gives is still 8,000 livres higher than it should be. It is, nevertheless, an imposing amount.

The Mémoire tells us that Richelieu spent 410,000 livres on rebuilding the château. The main body and both wings were rebuilt, and the grand jeu de paume, a stable block and a domed chapel were added. More than 100,000 livres went on lead and iron alone. Despite this, the château de Rueil remained a relatively modest-sized country mansion, with the wings having only one window on each of the three storeys. A large semi-circular bay dominated the middle of the first floor of the main block, with three windows on either side, separated by pillars. A balcony with a wrought iron balustrade was slung across the whole front, thus joining the two wings externally.

For the reconstruction of the château Richelieu employed his usual architect, Le Mercier, and the same master mason who worked for him at Richelieu and in Paris, Jean Thiriot. A contract note dated 30 January 1636 shows that he was to build a block in place of the old gallery which joined the large pavilion to the main body of the château, and an oval chapel with a dome and lantern. The main doorway to the chapel was to be flanked with doric columns, and it was placed in the courtyard,² where it could also be entered directly from

1. Jaquin and Duesberg, Rueil, Le château de Richelieu, 1845, pp.165-168.

2. Cramail, Le Château de Rueil et ses Jardins, 1888, p.6.

the château itself. A receipt of 28 March 1639 informs us that Thiriot had been paid more than 46,000 livres for building work in the gardens, as well as for constructing a stable block to Le Mercier's designs.¹

The extent of the rebuilding operations often made it impossible for Richelieu to stay in the château. In May 1636 he wrote that he would go to Rueil in order to be near the King, who was hunting at Versailles, but declared that he would have to stay either in the town or at the farm.² In September 1642 he made a similar complaint to de Noyers, suggesting tentatively that he might stay with Noël de Bonnelle, the eldest son of Claude de Bullion who had died in 1640.³ Bonnelle had married Mademoiselle de Toussy "qui estoit un peu parente de Son Eminence"⁴ in February 1639, and had inherited property from his father in Rueil, an inheritance only slightly depleted by the sale of some vineyards to the Cardinal in October 1638, for which Bullion was paid 686 livres.⁵ Richelieu was last at Rueil on 4 November 1642,⁶ after a gap of nearly a year. For these few days he probably slept in the room in which he normally dined, as his bed was still in that room when the inventory was taken in May 1643.⁷ A dozen ceiling panels of silk tapestry were in store, valued at only fifty livres,⁸ awaiting the completion of Richelieu's bedchamber. The state of the new apartments at the time of his death can be judged

1. Cramail, Le Château de Ruel et ses Jardins, 1888, p.6.

2. Avenel, Lettres, vol.5, p.459.

3. Avenel, Lettres, vol.7, p.131.

4. Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes, 1961, vol.1, p.303.

5. Inventory, fo. 722r-722v.

6. Grillon, Les Papiers de Richelieu, 1975, vol.1, p.22. Richelieu's last dated letter from Rueil was written on 11 January 1642 (Avenel, Lettres, vol.7, p.301). There are letters dated from Paris of the end of October 1642 (Avenel, Lettres, vol.7, p.154) so he cannot have spent more than a few days there on his last visit.

7. Inventory, Item 1408.

8. Inventory, Item 1726.

from the inventory: they contained only a ladder and a pair of workmen's tables.¹

The inventory is not particularly informative about the decoration of the château because, as happened also in the case of the Palais Cardinal, it does not list any decorative paintings specifically commissioned by Richelieu. From other sources we only know of two such works, both for the chapel. Vouet painted a Nativity (also called an Adoration of the Angels) which is now lost, but an engraving by Dorigny done in 1638 shows that the work was finished by then.² Champaigne painted a Descent from the Cross, again now only known through an engraving.³ Both artists are alleged to have painted other works for the château, but no subject or position is noted, so what they might have been remains speculation.⁴

According to the inventory, the quality of the paintings housed in the château must have been indifferent. The question of the uniformly low valuations put on the paintings is discussed in the introduction to the inventories. While it is possible that the estimates are a result of no qualified artist having been retained to assist in this part of the inventory, it is necessary to stress here the unlikelihood of the inference that Richelieu only kept very mediocre paintings at Rueil. A large majority of the paintings were portraits, mostly of French kings, but two were of foreigners,⁵ and there were two unevaluated paintings of the Dauphin, the future Louis

1. Inventory, Item 1488.

2. Grelly, Simon Vouet, 1962, catalogue no. 159.

3. Dorival, Catalogue des sujets sacrés et allégoriques gravés d'après Philippe de Champaigne, Gazette des Beaux Arts, 1972, catalogue no. 39.

4. Florent le Comte, Cabinet des Singularitez, 1700, vol. 3, p. 67.

"(Vouet fit dans la Chapelle differens sujets de dévotion." Guillet de Saint Georges, Mémoires inédits sur la vie et les ouvrages des membres de l'Académie Royale, 1854, vol. 1, p. 241.

"(Champaigne) fit plusieurs ouvrages au Château de Rueil."

5. Inventory, Item 1401.

XIV, one of them showing him in his nurse's arms.¹ There was no portrait of Richelieu himself unless, which is hardly likely, the Portrait of a Cardinal² refers to him. The rest of the paintings at Rueil were mainly of religious subjects, although there was one picture showing Henri IV attacking a town, one landscape, and one potentially interesting painting of a nocturnal scene with musicians.³ In the Palais Cardinal there was a painting by Caravaggio which similarly depicted a concert,⁴ but while it was valued at one thousand livres the painting at Rueil was considered to be worth merely twenty. Not a single artist is indicated, and for the most part, neither is the position of the paintings. A Christ on the Cross⁵ was in the small gallery, and in Richelieu's dining room/bedroom were the two portraits of the Dauphin mentioned above, and a Head of Christ.⁶ The two foreigners, valued at five livres each, decorated Richelieu's garderobe.

Some of the most valuable items in the château were the sets of tapestries which decorated the walls. Richelieu's own chamber was hung with a Gobelins tapestry woven with the story of the Pastor Fido, a theme derived from the play by Guarini and which was also used in the Aubusson factory.⁷ A set of eight pieces of Brussels tapestry in the billiard room told the story of Pomona,⁸ and in the Duc de Richelieu's room there was an old set illustrating the Triumph of Death,⁹ a sobering topic for the bedroom of the Cardinal's young

1. Inventory, fo. 981r (unnumbered).

2. Inventory, Item 1734.

3. Inventory, Items 1719, 1725, 1735.

4. Inventory, Item 996.

5. Inventory, Item 1384.

6. Inventory, fo. 980v (unnumbered).

7. Inventory, Item 1407. See Weigert, French Tapestry, (English translation, 1962), p.138.

8. Inventory, Item 1436.

9. Inventory, Item 1452.

heir. These sets, as well as three more in store,¹ were all valued at between two and three thousand livres. Some tapestries were specially made for the Cardinal since his coat of arms was woven into them: one such set, made in the Auvergne, was in the room which Baudeau had used.²

The furnishings of the château, judging by the inventory, do not appear to be particularly lavish, although by the time it was made, some five months after Richelieu's death, some of the contents might have been removed. Mazarin certainly appropriated an ebony cabinet,³ most probably the one described in more detail in an inventory of his possessions which was made in 1653.⁴ In the grande chambre overlooking the jeu de paume a little day bed was upholstered in a velvet cloth which had red flowers on a yellow ground; the same material covered the matching chairs and stools.⁵ The gallery had a large cedar and ebony cabinet in it, and a collection of pikes on the walls.⁶ More arms decorated the walls of Richelieu's closet,⁷ and his dining room/bedroom contained an important bed with flowered

1. Inventory, Items 1626, 1627, 1628.

2. Inventory, Item 1523.

3. Inventory, fo. 972r and v. Monseigneur Le cardinal de mazarin A faict emporter dudict Chasteau de Ruel par Le nomme des noyers Vallet de Chambre de feu Son Eminence Ung Grand Cabinet desbeyne Dans ung petit cabinet proche de la chambre de Son eminence.

4. Aumale, Inventaire de tous les Meubles du Cardinal Mazarin dressé en 1653, London 1881, p.261. Un autre cabinet d'ébène orné de moulures à ondes et compartimens gravez de diverses fleurs, masques et demies figures, la frize de monstres marins, ayant dans le milieu des portes un oval à huit pans, dans le milieu du quel est un amphion sur un dauphin; posé sur un pied composé de quatre colonnes d'ébène unies par le devant, et quatre pilastres de poirier par derrière, et entre les colonnes par dessous la frize pendent rois simaizes contournées à cartouches et gravées, celle du milieu des armes de feu Monsieur le Cardinal de Richelieu; long de cinq pieds, un pied sept pouces de profondeur, et haut de cinq pieds dix pouces, compris le pied.

5. Inventory, Items 1373, 1374.

6. Inventory, Items 1382, 1386.

7. Inventory, Items 1399, 1400.

hangings, valued at 2,000 livres.¹ There was another large, ebony cabinet in this room,² and an interesting embroidered picture, probably of an allegorical nature, dedicated to Richelieu.³ The Duc de Richelieu's room had three beds in it, two upholstered in blue damask, the other in green.⁴ Mazarin's bed and furniture were covered in red serge.⁵ Two valuable beds were in store, one with crimson hangings, the other with flowered velvet curtains lined with flowered watered silk.⁶ Both were valued at two thousand livres.

The kitchens at Rueil were not properly equipped, and indeed are not even mentioned in the inventory at all. On important occasions food was brought in from outside, as in December 1635, when Richelieu paid Estienne Armentier, epicier, just over fifty-four livres.⁷ The château was used on other occasions to entertain the Court, notably in October 1634, when for two days Rueil was the scene of splendid receptions celebrating the reconciliation of the King with his brother.

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1. Inventory, Item 1408.
 2. Inventory, Item 1410.
 3. Inventory, Item 1409.
 4. Inventory, Items 1447, 1448, 1450.
 5. Inventory, Items 1504, 1505.
 6. Inventory, Items 1644, 1645.
 7. Briële, Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Hôtel Dieu, 1887, vol. 4, p. 195.

RICHELIEU'S GARDENS

The gardens created for Cardinal de Richelieu are best described within the context of the history of French gardening in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and before examining Richelieu's gardens in detail, therefore, it would perhaps be worthwhile to look briefly at this development.

The transformation of the French garden during that period owed much to Italian inspiration, and this influence was acknowledged even then by such famous French gardeners as Claude Mollet, who was responsible for the planting of the gardens at the royal palace of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, on the designs drawn up by the architect Etienne du Pérac. Du Pérac had spent many years in Italy before returning to France in 1578, and in 1573 had made engravings of the Villa d'Este and its gardens. These gardens were evidently much in his mind when he came to produce plans for those for Henri IV.¹

For obvious historical reasons the development of the garden in sixteenth century France paralleled the loss of function of the castle or country house as château-fort. After the mid-century civil wars when many châteaux had to be rebuilt, and such stronghold features as the moat began to disappear, gardens could begin to be created as a complement to the house and were not simply regarded, as they had largely been before, as a separate entity. They could begin to be seen to form a link between the house and its surrounding countryside, so that the eye could travel from the house with its immediate formal gardens, to the (nevertheless cultivated) park, and thence to uncultivated nature beyond. The elements of a garden rooted in Italian sources which helped to contrive this link and which were increasingly employed

1. Hauteceur, Histoire de l'Architecture classique en France, 1966, vol.1 (3), pp.39, 95.

towards the end of the sixteenth, and more so in the early part of the seventeenth centuries, included the use of water either in its natural form as a running stream or river, or artificially in lakes and canals and, more elaborately, in fountains. It was an Italian, Thomas Francini, whom Henri IV appointed to look after the grottoes and waterworks at Saint-Germain and who finally became intendant général des eaux et fontaines. Louis XIII later confirmed his appointment and in 1623 Francini was given a salary of 3,000 livres, with an additional 1,200 livres for the upkeep of the grottoes of Saint-Germain.¹ Richelieu sought his advice when he contemplated installing fountains in more than one of his properties, and it was another member of the family, François, who later in the century under Louis XIV was responsible for the famous fountains and waterworks at Versailles. The inclusion of architectural and decorative elements in a garden, such as grottoes, statues and stone-work or evergreen cabinets, also sprang from the fashionable stimulus of Italian gardening practice.² We shall see that in at least two of Richelieu's gardens all these ingredients contributed an important part to the whole.

The number of gardening manuals published in France in the seventeenth century illustrates the growing importance and popularity of the subject, but in discussing three in particular, we shall try to discover the essential features of a garden in that period. Claude Mollet's work, Théâtre des Plans et Jardinages, was written around 1610 - 1612, although it was published posthumously, in 1652. It is a history of the development of the French garden and resumes his own experience as an exponent of the art of gardening for over thirty years. His particular interest was the pleasure garden, to which he devotes several

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1. For information on the Francini family (although the article does not mention work done for Richelieu) see Mousset, Les Francine, Nouvelles Archives de l'Art de France, 1872, vol.1.
 2. Crump, Nature in the Age of Louis XIV, 1928, ch.1.

chapters, and his contribution to this field was the development of what was known as the parterres en broderies.

Le temps passé il y a environ quarante ou cinquante ans qu'il ne se faisoit que de petits Compartimens dans chacun quarré d'un Jardin de diverses sortes de Dessins. 1

The enlargement and increasing complexity of design he attributes, as I have mentioned, to Etienne du Pérac, "grand Architecte du Roy", who showed Mollet:

Comme il falloit faire de beaux Jardins; de telle maniere qu'un seul Jardin n'estoit, et ne faisoit qu'un seul Compartiment my-parti par grandes voyales. (i.e. the principal pathways.) 2

Mollet was the first to recognise the decorative value of the designs (or broderies) in the different sections and the value of the variety resulting from the mixture of parterres en broderies and parterres with differently conceived compartments. The designs he supplies in his book are already quite complicated although they are always either square or rectangular in shape, with intersections at right-angles. A fountain often marks the centre-point, and apart from this centre-point, all the contours are straight cut and totally symmetrical, with no complicated corner pieces. The broderies themselves were usually executed against a background of coloured chips or sand, using low green or grey-leaved plants. Mollet usually worked with box, which was easy to maintain and could withstand winter temperatures, preferring it to the more delicate cyprus, although some people regarded box as evil-smelling. Broderies were sometimes combined with flower beds, thus giving the additional advantage of changing colour schemes: flowers were always grouped according to species, favourites including the tulip (introduced into Europe from Turkey in the mid-sixteenth century), carnations and roses. Small flowering plants were often

1. Mollet, Théâtre des Plans et Jardinages, 1652, p.199.

2. Ibid., pp.200-201.

preferred and one of the best was considered to be the pink and white strawberry.

Claude Mollet, who apart from the gardens of Saint-Germain-en-Laye was also responsible for those of Monceaux and Fontainebleau, had the title premier jardinier de France. His son Pierre worked in the gardens at the Louvre and another son, André, was similarly employed in England, and then by Queen Christina of Sweden. It was in Stockholm in 1651 that André published the Jardin de Plaisir in which he progressed further along the lines initiated by his father.

Despite their long collaboration, André Mollet's own style and preferences are clearly distinguishable from his father's. Much more emphasis, for instance, is placed on the importance of planting trees in a garden, either in avenues or grouped in bosquets where:

(ils) attireront naturellement toute sorte d'oyseaux sans contrainte, & par ce moyen on aura une voliere naturelle, qui sera beaucoup plus agreable que l'artificielle, les oyseaux y ayans pleine liberte. 1

The designs for the parterres which he provides show a definite improvement over his father's: the broderies are larger and therefore adapt themselves more readily to the overall effect. The separate compartments are bigger too, and although still square or rectangular, there is more variety of outline and a greater mixture within, as he adds mosaics and stretches of water to the broderies. The desire for harmony between a house and its gardens is more marked.

In the eleventh chapter of the Jardin de Plaisir André Mollet describes his ideal of a royal house. A large double or triple avenue should be planted leading to the front entrance of the house, starting with a large semi-circular (or square) area at the gates. Immediately behind the house should be the parterres en broderies, placed so as to

1. Mollet, Le Jardin de Plaisir, Stockholm, 1651, ch.11.

be easily visible from the house. Behind those should be more parterres, intermingled with patches of lawn, trees, palissades and walks:

faisant en sorte que la plus-part des dites allées aboutissent, & se terminent tousjours à quelque statuë, ou centre de fontaine; & aux extremités d'icelles allées y poser des belles perspectives peintes sur toile, afin de les pouvoir oster des injures du temps quand on voudra. 1

Finally, statues on pedestals and grottoes should be included in the scheme:

sans y oublier les volieres, fontaines, jets d'eau, canaux, & autres tels ornemens, lesquels, estant dûment pratiquez, chacun en leur lieu, forment le jardin de plaisir parfait. 2

Jacques Boyceau de la Barauderie, a contemporary of André Mollet, offers essentially the same characteristics of a garden in his Traité du Jardinage.³ As intendant des jardins du Roi, he was responsible for the gardens of Versailles and of the Luxembourg palace, and while in practice in these gardens he was limited to the use of square parterres, in theory he was one of the first to realise the disadvantages of a monotonous outline, and he tried to vary the contours to avoid such a consequence. He stressed the importance of incorporating different levels in a garden (what he called the assiette inégale) which offered the opportunity of diversifying more widely its ornamentation, but at the same time allowed the onlooker a chance of viewing the whole garden from above:

la disposition & departement de tout le Iardin estant veü de haut, est remarquée & reconnuë d'une seule veüë, ne paroist qu'un seul parterre, dans lequel sont distinguez tous les ornemens: vous iugez de là la bonne correspondance qui est entre les parties, qui toutes ensemble baillent plus de plaisir que les parcelles. 4

Boyceau devotes a chapter to grottoes and their decoration, and

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1. Mollet, Le Jardin de Plaisir, Stockholm, 1651, ch.11.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Boyceau de la Barauderie, Traité du Jardinage, 1638.
 4. Ibid., livre 3, ch.2, p.70.

studies at length the place and use of water.

Avec les eaux encor on peut faire mouvoir des engins & machines, par l'ayde desquels marchent des figures, iouïent des instrumens de musique, sifflent & chantent des oyseaux, & d'autres animaux contrefaits, des arbres & plantes y sont moullés, formez & peints, comme s'ils estoient naturels. 1

The walls of grottoes could be painted with grotesques or decorated with patterns of shells. Boyceau admires in particular natural, running water:

Cette vivacité & mouvement semblant estre l'esprit plus vivant des Iardins. 2

Low, bubbling fountains, "qui n'ont peu de grâce comme chose naturelle"³ lend themselves, in his view, less readily to artistic embellishment.

Concentrating on the details of decoration of the gardens situated next to a house, Boyceau lists the different designs which could be used in the compartments. They could be composed of

feüillages, passemens, moresques, arabesques, grotesques, guillochis, rosettes, gloires, targes, escussons d'armes, chiffres & devises. 4

Or, more simply, they could consist of geometrical designs incorporating rare flowers and symmetrically planted greenery. Lawns could be of one or more colours; the impression given by the whole should be that of an oriental carpet.

So during the first half of the seventeenth century gardens were being created with more thought to the overall effect; whilst still remaining highly stylised and symmetrical, designs for flowerbeds and parterres were becoming larger and more complicated. There was, however, a greater attempt to integrate the separate parts. The incorporation of conceits where art imitated nature in such things as the

1. Boyceau de la Barauderie, Traité du Jardinage, 1638, livre 3, ch.11, p.80.

2. Ibid., livre 3, ch.7, p.75.

3. Ibid., livre 3, ch.9, p.77. "cette eau que vous regardez la veuë baissée, n'a peu de grace, comme chose naturelle."

4. Ibid., livre 3, ch.5, p.73.

painted canvas~~es~~ using a trompe l'oeil technique (of which a celebrated example was displayed at Rueil), and artificial grottoes decorated with shells and paintings containing extravagant water devices, was of particular importance in the planning of a garden. So, too, was the inclusion of statues and sculptured groups, employed as the focal point in a parterre, in niches to enliven a wall or hedge, or to decorate an otherwise bare stretch of water. Richelieu's gardens followed these prevailing fashions and indeed two of them, at Richelieu and especially at Rueil, were among the most noted, and most widely visited, of his day.

From his earliest days as Bishop of Luçon Richelieu seems to have been concerned not only with the buildings in which he lived, but also with the natural and cultivated surroundings of his various houses and châteaux. His interest in his gardens, in the flowers, trees and water which constituted them was quite unforced. It also becomes clear from his letters, as well as from other contemporary sources, that he cared more about his gardens than he did about his houses, and the paintings, sculptures and objets d'art which he collected so avidly. His library contained several horticultural books, including the Hortus Eystettensis of 1613 by Besler,¹ Le Jardin d'Hyver of 1616 by Franeau² and a Florus Exemplorum of the same year.³ There were also collections of engravings of landscapes.⁴ It is not immediately obvious where this preference on Richelieu's part for gardens and the countryside sprang from. Part of his childhood was spent in the country, and the poor state of his health throughout his life certainly made the

1. Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms 4270, Inventaire des livres de feu Mgr. le Cardinal Duc de Richelieu fait par T. Blaise, Item 5486.

2. Ibid., Item 4486.

3. Ibid., Item 1611.

4. Items 5482, 5485.

possession of country properties vitally important, encouraging him to spend considerable periods outside the noise and distraction of Paris. He excused his rashness in buying Limours before he could properly afford it by explaining to a friend:

les choses qui sont pour la santé d'une personne
ne doivent jamais estre estimées vrayes folies. 1

On 13 June 1634 he wrote, having been ill the previous month:

(Ma santé) va un peu mieux, mais avec mes délicatesses
et foiblesses ordinaires. La solitude de Ruel m'est
meilleure que l'accablement de Fleury. 2

A few days earlier he had touched on the same subject:

L'air de la campagne m'a soulagé, en sorte que je
me porte beaucoup mieux à present que je ne faisois
pas ce matin. 3

In September 1642, towards the end of his life, friends tried to discourage him from spending some time at Rueil, where unfinished building work made it impossible to live in the château with any comfort:

Forces gens me desconseillent d'aller à Ruel passer
l'hiver, dans un autre logis que le mien. Pour
moy, je me desconseille de le passer tout-à-fait à
Paris, et prend resolution de le partager entre
Paris et Ruel. 4

Richelieu must also have had the opportunity, while he was in Italy in the early months of 1607, of studying and admiring some of the famous gardens in Rome. Hanotaux, in his study of Richelieu's life, gives no indication of where Richelieu stayed on this visit,⁵ undertaken to facilitate the granting of a papal dispensation, necessary because he had not yet reached the age at which he could legally be appointed to the bishopric of Luçon. However, he seems to have had considerable social success there, no doubt supervised by the French ambassador,

1. Avenel, Lettres, vol.7, p.525.

2. Ibid., vol.8, p.29, and vol.4, p.567.

3. Ibid., vol.4, p.566.

4. Ibid., vol.7, p.143.

5. Hanotaux, Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu, vol.1; 1893, pp.82-84.

d'Alincourt, to whom Henri IV wrote asking for the nomination to be ratified. Later, Richelieu was to be impressed by the Italianate gardens, inspired by the Florentine gardens familiar to her from her youth, that Marie de Médicis had had planted around 1615 for her new Luxembourg palace. Richelieu mentions these gardens in his Mémoires.¹

The possession and enjoyment of gardens were thus, for Richelieu, an early but enduring passion. Even when Bishop of Luçon he complained, in a well-known passage in one of his first preserved letters:

Je vous puis asseurer que j'ay le plus vilain évesché de France, le plus crotté et le plus désagréable;... Il n'y a icy aucun lieu pour se promener, ny jardin ny allée, ny quoy que ce soit, de façon que j'ay ma maison pour prison. 2

It is clear that the history of French gardens of the early seventeenth century shows an increasing concern with the relationship between a château and its surrounding gardens and parkland. Richelieu is therefore an early example of one who took enormous care in planning the settings in which he chose to live, lavishing large sums of money on houses which he occupied, in some cases, only briefly. It is significant that at Richelieu (which he did not visit after 1635, at which point it was in nothing resembling a finished state) and at the Palais Cardinal, attention was focussed primarily on their decoration, and on the distribution between the two houses of his art collections, whereas at Rueil, where he went whenever he could, more care was spent on the gardens than on anything else.

Before discussing these famous gardens and those of his other two principal residences just mentioned, we should look for a moment at one or two other of the houses occupied by Richelieu. In April 1623

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1. Richelieu, Mémoires, 1907, vol.1, p.255, and note 2. The water for these gardens was brought specially from Arcueil. See also Teyssèdre, L'Art au siècle de Louis XIV, 1967, p.145.
 2. Avenel, Lettres, vol.1, p.24. Letter of April 1609.

he bought the Château de Limours from Louis Hurault de Chiverny for 270,000 livres. In a letter dated 14 April 1623, written to de Rouville, governor of Chinon, he explained the purchase:

je ne puis que je ne vous die la folie, que j'ay faicte d'achepter Limours....Vous m'en blameres peut-estre... Je vous envye le contentement que vous avez d'estre aux champs, quoyque nous y soyons maintenant. 1

We have seen in Chapter 1 that Richelieu resold the château to the King some three and a half years after acquiring it, and in the meantime had spent 300,000 livres on improving and embellishing the property:² that at least was the sum paid to the Cardinal by Gaston d'Orléans (for whom the château was destined), to cover the cost of these "méliorations".

Some of the work done on improvements to the gardens was carried out by Salomon de Caus: the exact details, which were enumerated in a list attached to a receipt signed by the architect's widow,³ have unfortunately been lost, but de Caus, described as "ingénieur et architecte du Roy" was paid 2,890 livres. De Caus was no stranger to garden planning. Some years previously he had helped to plan the elaborate gardens of Hatfield House, with fountains and a lake, which the first Earl of Salisbury was having constructed, after having exchanged Theobalds for Hatfield with James I.⁴ He worked on other royal gardens in England, too, notably at Richmond, and in 1612 he designed gardens for the Duke of Brabant in Brussels. Later he performed a similar service for the Elector Palatine, publishing in 1619 the Hortus Palatinus.

1. Avenel, Lettres, vol.7, p.525.

2. Chapter 1, p.17. Matthieu de Morgues' tirade against the Cardinal also gives this information (Tres-humble, tres-veritable, & tres-importante remonstrance au Roy, 1631, p.51). "C'est en ce temps là qu'il a liquidé & augmenté de beaucoup les revenus de sa maison, qu'il a achepté Limours quatre vingts dix mille escus; qu'il y a fait des reparations pour plus de cent mille:(...)qu'il a recherché curieusement par toute la France & en Italie les meubles precieux: (...)qu'il a grandement relevé son train: qu'il a faict des festins excessifs.(...) Tout cela s'est fait aux despens de la Roynne vostre Mere."

3. Brièle, Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Hôtel-Dieu, 1887, vol.4, p.298.

4. Cecil, Guide Book to Hatfield House, 1973, p.14, and Hauteceur, Histoire de l'Architecture classique en France, 1966, vol.1 (3) pp.38-39.

At Limours he was probably employed to provide fountains. Hautecoeur says that the great specialist in the same field, Francini, was also concerned with the work at Limours, but it is not known whether this was simply in a consultative capacity.¹

Writing to des Roches, then in Italy, in the latter part of August 1623, Richelieu gave his secretary detailed instructions for the acquisition of marble statues and fountain accessories,² and it is known from other letters that work had been started at Limours at the latest in April of that year. Richelieu informed Bouthillier on the 26th of April:

ayant fait les réparations à quoy on n'eust point
commencé sans mon voiage, le lieu sera honeste...
Vous le jugerés à la premiere veue apres les réparations
dans quatre mois. 3

This means that the house and garden would have been ready to receive such things as decorative statues at exactly the moment when Richelieu wrote to des Roches. The tone of the letter, it must be said, is of a man anxious to acquire the pieces as cheaply as possible:

(le sieur Franchine) dit que telles pièces n'estans
pas vrayes antiques, on les a à fort bon marché.

Richelieu reminds his secretary that d'Alincourt had bought some statues five or six months previously "qu'il a eues à vil prix", and asks him to enquire carefully about the price, giving an estimate of what Parisian sculptors would expect for that kind of work. And Richelieu adds, finally:

Et au cas qu'il ne trouve bon marché, ne fera que
s'enquérir des prix, sans arrester aucune chose.

The marble pieces Richelieu was keen to have included:

1. Hautecoeur, Histoire de l'Architecture classique en France, 1966, vol.1 (3), p.141.

2. Avenel, Lettres, vol.1, pp.775-777. In a note to this letter Avenel claims that the statues were intended for Rueil but this is of course impossible, as Richelieu did not then own the property.

3. Avenel, Lettres, vol.7, p.527.

Une statue qui n'eust que d'environ trois pieds de hault; d'un bassin de belle façon qui eust un pied et demi de diamètre, pour luy mettre sur la teste. Si vous faictes faire celà exprès, il faut que la statue le tienne avec les deux mains sur sa teste, le tout selon la plus belle invention du sculpteur. Vous vous souviendrez qu'estant pour une fontaine, il fault que la statue et le bassin soient percés. Quant aux autres statues, cela despend du hasard avec lequel vous les rencontrerez.

In addition, there is a list of bronze statues for which the Cardinal asks des Roches to enquire about the price:

Le Juppiter de six pieds de hault qui auroit le visage du feu roy, une corone sur sa teste et son sceptre en main, vestu en Juppiter à l'antique;

Une Junon de mesme grandeur qui aura le visage de la reyne, les yeux un peu tournez au ciel, lequel elle monstrera d'une main y tendante;

Un dieu Terminus, de neuf pieds de hault, faict à la fantaisie du sculpteur, pour estre mis sur une colonne au milieu du jardin;

Un Hercules de huit à neuf pieds, tenant sa massue en l'air, percée pour qu'elle puisse jeter de l'eau.

In his answer from Florence, written on 27 September 1623,¹ des Roches has no scruples in disagreeing with some of Richelieu's aesthetic ideas. He does not think that water should be allowed to spout from Hercules' club:

L'eau peut s'élancer de la mâchoire d'âne de Samson, mais non pas d'une massue.

He criticises the idea of placing a statue of the god Terminus on a column, and does not want the little statue supporting the shallow bowl of a fountain to do so with both hands, but only with one. Des Roches thus indicates quite clearly where he feels that Richelieu's artistic judgement falls short, treating his employer to a lengthy dissertation on works of art.

It is interesting that Richelieu should have been so specific in his instructions concerning these pieces. It is probable, at least where the statues and fountain pieces for the gardens were concerned,

1. Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Florence, 1600-1640, vol.2, fo.88.

that he was advised by Francini on the necessary sizes. Francini in any case would be more conversant than Richelieu with the availability of such work in Italy, although Richelieu had obviously heard of the French ambassador's recent acquisitions in the market. Where the two statues of Henri IV and his consort were concerned, Richelieu was more likely to be following an established fashion as the representation of kings and queens in the guise of mythological figures was commonplace.¹

After Limours had been bought back into the royal domaine, Gaston d'Orléans explained in his Mémoires, as we have seen in Chapter 1,² that the real reason why Richelieu was not unwilling to part with the property was that he was disappointed about the lack of fountains and other amenities. Malherbe, writing to Monsieur de Mentin in October 1627, gives a totally different (and somewhat more flattering) version of the sale, describing the house as "embellie de toutes les diversités propre au soulagement d'un esprit que les affaires ont accablé",³ which suggests that the park and gardens were, on the contrary, rather attractive.

Slightly less is known, unfortunately, about the gardens of another property owned by Richelieu for the briefest of periods. Marie de Médicis gave the Cardinal the château of Bois-le-Vicomte after the victory of La Rochelle,⁴ and he exchanged it a few years later for the

1. Boislisle, Les collections de sculpture du Cardinal de Richelieu, Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France, 1882, vol.42. Boislisle noted, when publishing an article on Richelieu's collections of sculpture, that two small statues of Henri IV and Marie de Médicis as Jupiter and Juno (only 40 cm high) were then in a private collection.

2. Chapter 1, p.17.

3. Malherbe, Oeuvres, 1971, p.337.

4. For the information that the château was a gift from Marie de Médicis, see Hautecoeur, Histoire de l'Architecture classique en France, 1966, vol.1 (3), p.142. I have been unable to find verification elsewhere for this fact.

Château de Champigny, when he was acquiring land around Richelieu in order for that property to be capable of sustaining the status of a duché-pairie. The contract of exchange,¹ which was undertaken in 1635, does not describe the gardens in any detail, merely mentioning that more than 200,000 livres had been spent by Richelieu on, among other things:

conduits des Fontaines, achapt des terres pour les
advenuës & plan des palliers en autres arbres,

and it lists the usual elements of such a property:

la Terre & Maison du Bois-le-Vicomte, consistant
en un Chasteau...iardins, parc planté, un bois de
haute fustaye & autres sortes...grand allée ou
chemin d'ormes qui conduit dudit Bois-le-Vicomte à
Mitry.

A contemporary description, dealing mainly with the interior of the château, also mentions this avenue:

Lequel chemin est par l'espace d'une lieue bordé de
4 grandes rangées d'ormes, qu'a faict, pour la plus-
part, planter Monsieur le Cardinal, ce qui est fort
beau à voir. 2

The château had been built amidst noted game country in which, by royal command, it was forbidden to hunt, since the king used it himself for that purpose.

The château, with its forecourt and another courtyard to the side, was surrounded in the old manner by a moat. Gomboust published a small engraving of the château in his Plan de Paris³ and from this it can be seen that the elm avenue struck out obliquely from one side of the château and did not, as one might expect, lead up to the front entrance. Parterres were laid out at the back of the house, and to the side not taken up with the avenue. Woods cut regularly with right-angled walks were set behind the parterres and around the rest of the

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1. Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Recueil Thoisy, vol.54, fo.257ff.
 2. Bibliothèque de l'Institut, Ms. Collection Godefroy, vol.221, fo.60ff.
 3. Gomboust, Plan de Paris, 1649, reproduced in Hauteceur, Histoire de l'Architecture classique en France, 1966, vol.1 (3), p.142.

house. The gardens appear to be quite small, consisting simply in rectangular parterres arranged symmetrically. Although as we have seen in the first chapter that decorative work was undertaken on the interiors while the château was owned by Richelieu, and stables and a bassecour erected on one side, it is probable that there was simply no scope to extend or enlarge the gardens. According to the exchange contract, there had been some attempt to introduce fountains, but it is not clear whether they were ever constructed: they are certainly not visible on Gomboust's engraving.

The Château de Rueil was built for Jean Moisset and was purchased from the creditors of his heir by Richelieu in 1633, although he had certainly visited it before.¹ Even at that date its gardens and park were justifiably famous: while travelling around France in about 1630, Golnitz described the gardens as eminently worth a visit.

La maison du sieur Moysset avec ses jardins, ses fontaines, ses piscines, mérite d'être vue...on y voit des choses curieuses, deux chiens de bronze versant l'eau à la manière de ces bêtes; une fontaine qui a la forme d'une rose, un Hercule, un dragon à plusieurs têtes, un Cerbère; vers la forêt il y a un labyrinthe avec des rocailles, des grottes, des canaux amenant les eaux dans les jardins. Les promenades sont charmantes. 2

Having spent 147,000 livres on the initial purchase of the modest-sized château and the droit d'aides in the village of Rueil, the cardinal proceeded to spend a further 336,000 livres on the garden alone. This figure³ was provided in 1666 by the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, Richelieu's

1. Indeed, Richelieu seems to have made quite extensive use of the château prior to buying it. In October 1631, for instance, festivities were held there to celebrate the baptism of his great-nephew, god child and future heir, Armand de Vignerod de Pontcourlay.
2. Gölnitz, Ulysses Belgico Gallicus. This translation is published in Hanotaux, Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu, vol.6, 1947, p.420.
3. Mémoire que l'on a ordonné à la Duchesse d'Aiguillon de faire des augmentations, acquisitions, bastiments et autres despenses qui ont été faictes à Rueil, par Monsieur le Cardinal, outre le prix de l'achapt. (Lettres ms. de Colbert, published by Jaquin and Duesberg, Rueil, le Château de Richelieu, La Malmaison, 1845, pp.165-167.)

niece, to whom he had bequeathed the property. Early in his personal reign, Louis XIV was contemplating the requisition of this magnificent estate but, after examining the sums of money involved in the purchase, he decided not to continue with the deal. We find in the mémoire prepared by the Duchesse d'Aiguillon that of the 336,000 livres, 80,000 livres were used for further acquisitions of land to enlarge the park, 70,000 livres were spent on forestry plantations; and it included 50,000 livres for the construction of the large stone stairway and grotto, as well as 10,000 livres for raising the large parterre by three feet.

Richelieu's chief gardener at Rueil, Jean Magnan, was paid 1,000 livres per year.¹ This was more than Le Masle himself,² and it illustrates his importance to the cardinal. There is a contract dated 19 June 1638³ which details Magnan's duties: he is to supervise the upkeep of the avenues, replant the parterres, the flower garden and the small terrace garden, care for the lawn and the almond avenue, clip the box hedges of the parterre, prune the rose bushes and tend the newly planted flowers and shrubs. Vines of the muscatel grape from Frontignac had been planted at Rueil in 1637. Tallemant des Réaux repeats a story about Montauron, who was a wealthy financier. In order to flatter Richelieu one year, Montauron bought all his wine at an inflated price, to the great satisfaction of the cardinal who was able to say:

J'ay vendu mon vin cent livres le muid. 4

Many contemporary or near contemporary descriptions of the gardens at Rueil have come down to us. John Evelyn visited the gardens

1. Deloche, La Maison du Cardinal de Richelieu, 1912, p.549.

2. Ibid., p.547.

3. Ibid., p.425, and Cramail, Le Château de Ruel et ses Jardins, 1888, p.6.

4. Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes, 1961, vol.1, p.342.

in 1644 and recorded his enthusiastic reaction in his diary:

But though the house be not of the greatest, the Gardens about it are so magnificent as I much doubt whether Italy have any exceeding it for all varieties of Pleasure:... that which is most admirable is the vast enclosure and variety of ground in the larger Garden, as containing Vineyards, Corne fields, Meadows, Groves, whereoff one is of Perennial Greenes; and Walkes of vast lengths, so accurately kept & cultivated that nothing can be more agreable & tempting. 1

Evelyn also mentions the orangery, (or "Citroniere", as he calls it) which was still an unusual feature in a big house; there was one in the Louvre, in the Queen's Garden, and Pierre Séguier had one included, probably towards the end of the 1630s, in his house in Paris. The Château de Maisons was to have one slightly later.²

The painted perspective done by Le Maire, to represent the Constantine Arch in Rome, is rather better documented. Unlike the orangery it is mentioned in the accounts drawn up by Madame d'Aiguillon for Louis XIV, and apparently cost, together with three small pavilions, 30,000 livres. This "agreable cheate", in Evelyn's phrase, was painted on a flat board:

so don to the life, that a man very well skilld in Painting may mistake it for stone, & sculpture. 3

He recalls that birds were frequently killed trying to fly through the "arch", but this was obviously a story repeated by the gardeners who showed visitors around, as Louis Huygens in his Journal de Voyage also mentions it:

on dit mesme que les oijseaux y ont esté trompez plusieurs fois en se voulant reposer sur les corniches qui ne sont que peintes et toutes plattes, ou passer par le milieu croijans qu'il est une porte ouverte, tant ils ont sceu représenter le ciel par des couleurs

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1. Evelyn, Diary, 1955, vol.2, p.108.
 2. The orangery of the Louvre was built in 1605 (Deloche, La Maison du Cardinal de Richelieu, 1912, p.424.) For other contemporary orangeries, see Hauteceur, Les Jardins des Dieux et des Hommes, 1959, p.138.
 3. Evelyn, Diary, 1955, vol.2, p.108.

vives et fortes. 1

John Lauder of Fountainhall made much of the same arch in his Journals:

On the same broad beneath the skie on the earth, as
ye would think, is drawn a woman, walking thorow a
montain in a trodden path, the woman, the mountain,
the way, so cunningly drawn that I almost thought
I saw a woman walking on the other syde of the wall. 2'

Jean Le Maire, known as "le gros Le Maire" (1597-1659) who was responsible for this piece of trompe-l'oeil, was one of those artists who specialised in painting architectural fantasies.³ Sauval described Le Maire as:

pour lors celui qui entendoit le mieux la perspective, mais passoit encore pour le premier et le plus expert qui ait jamais été en ces sortes d'enchantemens et d'illusions. A Rueil et à Bagnolet, avec ses pinceaux et ses couleurs, il a trompé les hommes aussi bien que les oiseaux. Il a fait des campagnes fertiles, longues et larges à perte de vue, en des endroits ou il ne se trouvoit qu'une petite muraille, il a érigé de magnifiques arcs de triomphe, élevé de superbes portiques, construit de grands temples et de grands palais, avec toute la hauteur et la capacité que les architectes leur donnent. 4

Le Maire worked for Richelieu in the Palais Cardinal decorating the salle de comédie there, and in the Hôtel du Petit-Luxembourg which he had been given in 1627 by Marie de Médicis, and which he, in turn, gave to his niece twelve years later. Le Maire was also well known for a trompe-l'oeil which he executed for the Parisian house of Sublet de Noyers, transforming a small, ill-lit courtyard into what appeared to be a large garden with a pair of handsome gates. Sauval claimed that this was Le Maire's best piece of work.

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1. Huygens, Journal de Voyage, 1655, Gazette des Beaux Arts, 1937, vol.2, pp.111-112.
 2. Lauder of Fountainhall, Journals, Scottish History Society, 1900, p.6.
 3. For information on Le Maire, see Blunt, Jean Le Maire; painter of architectural fantasies, Burlington Magazine, 1943, and Blunt, Additions to the work of Jean Le Maire, Burlington Magazine, 1959, and Janneau, La peinture française au 17e siècle, Geneva 1965, pp.130-131.
 4. Sauval, Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris, 1724, vol.2, pp.207-208.

Le Maire probably gained his experience in Italy: having been apprenticed to Vignon, he stayed for eighteen to twenty years in Rome, returning to France, according to Félibien, around 1633.¹ He paid another brief visit to Rome in 1642 when he accompanied Poussin back to Italy, but was soon in Paris again where he worked on the Grande Galerie in the Louvre. In 1639 he had been appointed "garde du Cabinet de peinture de Sa Majesté en son chasteau du Louvre et Thuilleries", for which he was paid 1,200 livres a year.

The feature of the gardens at Rueil which struck visitors most forcibly, however, was undoubtedly the profusion and variety of the fountains there: "The rich waterworks are the main commendation of the place,"² as Lauder put it. Engravings, as well as descriptions in both prose and poetry witness the delight found in fountains which could acquire a multitude of forms. In the middle of the grotto, for instance, was one which:

playes in divers formes of glasses, cupps, crosses, fanns, crowns etc. 3

The grotto, made to look like a rock covered with shells "stuck on in the shapes of Satyres & other wild fansys" also contained one of those devices much admired in the 17th century.

Lorsqu'on veut mouiller quelqu'un, il sort de terre une infinité de petits jets d'eau, des figures de bêtes de toutes les especes soufflent l'eau de tous côtez; et quand on veut sortir pour éviter toutes ces eaux, les portes se trouvent fermées par de grosses gerbes d'eau, & après être sorti même de cette grotte on trouve encore d'autres figures qui achèvent de mouiller ceux qui ont passé au milieu de tous ces effets d'eau. 4

John Lauder's tutor and companion on his tour of Europe, a Mr. Dick, was one of those who did not escape a wetting, and when Huygens visited

1. Félibien, Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens peintres anciens et modernes, 1690, vol.2, p.660.
2. Lauder of Fountainhall, Journals, Scottish History Society, 1900, p.6.
3. Evelyn, Diary, 1955, vol.2, p.108.
4. Piganiol de la Force, Description de Paris, 1736, vol.2, p.677.

Rueil, the party were obliged to leave their swords at the entrance - previous visitors, it seems, having been so annoyed at what no doubt afforded much amusement to the man who operated the fountains, that there had resulted a certain "désordre".

The large cascade of fountains which cost Richelieu 36,000 livres to build was another attraction. It consisted of a series of fountains on each of the steps of a stone stairway with three larger fountains at the bottom and statues on pedestals. Evelyn called it a:

plentifull, though artificial Cascad of Water, which rolles downe a very steepe declivity, and over the marble degrees, & basins, with an astonishing noyse and fury, Each basin hath a jetto in it & flowing like sheetes of transparent glasse. ¹

Such cascades were fairly common in the gardens of the time. There was a smallish one at Fontainebleau constructed by Francini, and a larger one at Saint-Cloud. One of the most beautiful was generally thought to be that which the abbé de la Rivière had built at Evry-Petit-Bourg: water spilled down from shell to shell, ending in the highest jet of water then known.²

Nearer the house was the large parterre which Richelieu had had raised by three feet, and in it were planted the tulips of which contemporaries noted that the Cardinal was so fond. Bronze statues, some pierced to act as fountains, decorated the parterre in the middle of which was a large rond d'eau. The view from the house indeed was such that the eye was led deliberately from one stretch of water to another, starting with the rond d'eau, and including a canal into which tumbled a cascade of fountains, the large cascade, and other pools enlivened by fountains, or harbouring an artificial rock for nesting birds.³

1. Evelyn, Diary, 1955, vol2, p.108.

2. Hauteceur, Les Jardins des Dieux et des Hommes, 1959, p.145.

3. The most comprehensive description of the fountains and waterworks in the gardens is that by Huygens of 1655 (Gazette des Beaux Arts, 1937, vol.2, pp.111-112). It is believed that some, at least, of these were designed by Thomas Francini (Poisson, Les vestiges du domaine de Richelieu à Rueil, Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français, 1956, pp.13-17).

At the time when Louis XIV was making enquiries with a view to the purchase of the château, the Jesuit poet, René Rapin, celebrated the gardens in the third book of his long Latin poem, Hortorum Libri Quattuor. His description of the noise created by the many fountains is particularly vivid, as in this passage taken from a translation into French which was done in the late eighteenth century:

Les flots écument et se brisent dans leur chute rapide;
on entend un bruit semblable à celui d'un torrent qui
se précipite d'une haute montagne. La terre gémit
sous d'horrible secousses, les cailloux et les rochers
sont inondés et battus par les flots, toute la forêt,
les lieux les plus éloignés retentissent au loin de cet
horrible fracas. 1

Richelieu also introduced trees into the gardens, including the famous chestnuts that were later to be called "les cardinaux". These bordered long walks, leading from one vista to another. Whilst staying for a few weeks at Rueil during the summer of 1644, Anne d'Autriche took pleasure in evening walks in the garden, and on one occasion, while being conducted round in an open carriage, came across the poet, Voiture, who recited some impromptu verses for her amusement.²

Two bills, both dated 1639, give some idea of the costs involved in the running of the garden at Rueil. The first shows that the Sieur de Lomerias, the conciierge of the château of Rueil, was paid 1,900 livres, 19 sols, for:

les fraiz de vendanges, les façons des vignes et toute
autre despences par lui faicte audict Ruel. 3

1. Published 1665:

Ardua stat coelo rupes, et rupe sub alta,
Ingens multarum se copia rumpit aquarum,
In praeceps, erebra spumant aspergine fluctus,
Perque gradus fracti certos, et iniqua locorum:
Fit sonitus: ceu cum torrens infraenis ab alto
Monte ruit; terra ingenti gemit icta fragore,
Substrati silices, rorataque saxa fluentis
Planguntur fluctu, toto sonat avia luco
Horrendum tellus, longe omnis silva resultat.

There were several translations of this poem into French, and the one quoted here is that published by Cramail, Le Château de Ruel et ses Jardins, Fontainebleau, 1888, p.6.

2. Madame de Motteville, Mémoires, 1855, vol.1, pp.181-2.

3. Deloche, La Maison du Cardinal de Richelieu, 1912, p.425.

This was obviously a yearly expense which involved the concierge in the hiring of extra help at the time of the grape harvest. A much smaller amount, 27 livres, was paid to Lomeras at the same time for having seen to some fencing in the park. The other bill was not a running account, since it concerned some building work done by Jean Thirio, a mason who had also worked for Richelieu at the Palais Cardinal in Paris, and at the château de Richelieu in Poitou. Thirio was reimbursed the sum of 46,559 livres, 16 sols, 2 deniers on 28 March for the construction of:

le rondeau, les cascades, rigoles et grottes,
and it included as well the building of the stables which had been designed by the Cardinal's architect, Lemer cier.¹

We have seen that it was to Rueil that Richelieu escaped whenever possible, to avoid the agitation, noise and smells of Paris. Since on more than one occasion the house was uninhabitable and the Cardinal as a result was forced to seek other lodging in the village, one must conclude that it was the tranquility and beauty of the gardens which so attracted him. His relaxation there seems to have included some practical gardening: silver garden implements and watering cans, some engraved with his coat of arms, were inventoried there after his death.²

Contemporary descriptions of the gardens at the Château de Richelieu are unfortunately much less detailed. This, his family home, came into his possession in 1621, when he was able to buy it back following the extremely difficult liquidation of his elder brother's estate after he had been killed in a duel in 1619. At first, Richelieu only intended to complete the building started by his father, but when

1. Cramail, Le Château de Rueil et ses Jardins, 1888, p.6.

2. Inventory, Items 1750, 1751.

the property was erected into a duchy, in 1631, more grandiose plans were conceived.

Thiëresanville, who visited the château in 1640, before it was completed, said simply that the gardens were:

tres vastes et amples. Ce qui plus my agréé sont
les parterres faicts en plusieurs facons tres ioliez
et les canaux deau qui coulent dedans lun desquels a
1000 à 1200 pas de long tous remplis de poissons fort
bons comme ie le présume à cause de leau qui sy
renouvelle perpetuellement. 1

Evelyn, in his diaries of 1644, is even more succinct, praising the "Parterres of incomparable imbrodry",² and mentions the many bronze and marble statues that were set amongst them. The gardens were evidently intentionally created as a showpiece: a verse was incised on the gateway between the park and the gardens to serve as a gentle warning to any light-fingered visitor.

Flore dans ce jardin pour conserver ses charmes
Ordonne aux Cavaliers de mettre bas ses armes,
Aux dames d'étouffer leurs désirs curieux,
A tous d'être sans mains, et n'avoir que des yeux. 3

Richelieu's correspondance and accounts tell us a little more, since he had to supervise the building of the château and town, and the planning and planting of the gardens at a distance. He only saw the château two or three times after he had decided to make it the showpiece of his duchy, and indeed, according to Aubery who wrote a history of the Cardinal in 1660, when pressed by friends to visit the duchy for his health's sake, he replied that:

quand mesme il ne seroit qu'à dix lieues de Richelieu,
& que les affaires du Roy l'apellassent ailleurs, il
n'auroit pas la moindre tentation d'y aller. 4

Plans were evidently ready in 1631 for the layout of the grounds:

1. Bibliothèque de l'Institut, Ms. Collection Godefroy, vol.220, fo.163r.
2. Evelyn, Diary, 1955, vol.2, p.150.
3. Vignier, Le Chasteau de Richelieu, 1676, pp.163-164.
4. Aubery, Histoire du Cardinal Duc de Richelieu, 1660, p.598.

a letter was written in November of that year to a Monsieur Leclerc, who owned the Hôtel des Trois-Mores in Orléans:

Monseigneur de Bordeaux ma commandé de vous escrire par cest homme expres pour vous prier de voir les hommes que luy avez adressez, auxquels il a faict marché de quantité dormeaux et de charmes, et savoir la cause pourquoi ils ne sont point venuz amener les ditz plans, estans dans la saison propice de planter. 1

Two nursery gardeners from Orléans, Pierre Driaux and Michel Collin provided the vast quantities of young trees that were required for the long alleyways, the labyrinth and the park. One letter of February 1632 gives some idea of the ~~amount~~^{number} of saplings involved:

Monsieur Des Roches ma escrit qu'y me donne charge de vous donner advis et celer sinement des plans qu'ont icy fourny Pierre Driaux et Michel Collin, qu'y est en premier lieu ung millier deux cens quatre vingt dormes, de grosseur de quatre pousses selon le marché, vallent, a raison de douze solz piese, clxvii livres, plus neuf cens quatre vingt quinze aultres ormes qu'y ne sont que de grosseur de trois pousses et demi; les dits Driaux et Collin nont fourny que cent vingt sept milliers trois cens de gros charmes, plus ilz ont aussi fourny cent cinquante neuf milliers quatre cens de grosse charmille. 2

By July of the following year, the Archbishop of Bordeaux, who was one of the people Richelieu used to oversee the work being carried out at the château, was able to inform him that "l'on plante les allées de vostre parc".³ These alleyways and tree-lined walks were mature by the time Vignier wrote his description of the castle.⁴ In 1665 John Lauder was particularly impressed by their regularity.

(Along the canal were) umbrages of tries making allies to the length of halfe a mile; in which I fand that same I had observed in the toune: the tries ranked so aequally that its wonderfull to hear; tho monstrously

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1. Brièle, Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Hôtel-Dieu, 1887, vol.4, p.293.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, France, vol.809, fo.132.
 4. Vignier, Le Chasteau de Richelieu, 1676, pp.144ff.

hy yet all of them observing such a aequality that
ye sould find none arrogating superiority over his
neighbour. 1

The deer-filled park was planted with elms, hornbeam and oak trees, and the alleys and walks were wide enough to allow a carriage to drive through them. However, at the same time as giving Richelieu his report on the planting of these trees, the Archbishop asked for permission to cut down certain existing ones which spoilt the view from the house, claiming in justification that:

tous ceux qui viennent icy sont d'advis qu'il fault
nécessairement abattre les boys qui sont à l'entrée
de vostre maison. 2

Richelieu's love of trees and knowledge of forestry is evidenced by his reluctance to have more than the minimum cut down. He answered the Archbishop very firmly:

Je demeure d'accord que vous faciez couper le bois
qu'il fault pour l'espace de mon anticourt, mais je
vous prie de n'en faire pas couper un pied plus
qu'il ne fault. 3

Despite the knowledge that the vast building programme being carried out at Richelieu required an endless provision of wood for floors, beams and roofs, and that the nearer it could be found the less expensive it would be, a point underlined by the Archbishop, Richelieu repeated this sentiment later to the Bishop of Chartres in 1638, another churchman employed by him from time to time to look after his affaires:

Je suis ravi de ce que vous ne voullés point faire
d'estoile dans mon parc, n'aymant point à faire
couper de bois.
Vous me ferés plaisir d'achepter les bois de Senesay
et Montagu et réduire les coupes à neuf ans. 4

Fruit trees were planted in the summer of 1633, an operation supervised by the abbé Legendre, the curé d'Hénonville, a famous

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1. Lauder of Fountainhall, Journals, Scottish History Society, 1900, p.25.
 2. Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, France, vol.809, fo.132.
 3. Avenel, Lettres, vol.4, p.477.
 4. Ibid., vol.6, p.4.

specialist in that field who was later to write a book on the subject.

The Archbishop of Bordeaux informed Richelieu on August 26th that:

Le Curé D'Hénonville trouvera ses fruictiers, ses trous
et tout ce qu'il a ordonné tout prest quand il voudra
venir travailler et un homme à Orléans pour payer les
plantes dont il aura affaire. 1

As at Rueil, there were fountains and grottoes in the gardens of Richelieu. A canal was specially cut in order to bring the water of the river Mable to irrigate the park and to provide the necessary water for the fountains. This canal was being deepened in 1633, as Richelieu was informed by Sourdis in the letter quoted above, and four years later the Bishop of Albi was able to tell the Cardinal:

le canal est beaucoup embely de ce que lon la
alongé. 2

Another, longer canal (700 toises as opposed to 175) was also built, joining the one which brought the Mable to the park. In December 1641 Monsieur de Grandpré, the capitaine du château, wrote to Richelieu to tell him that the original plan, drawn up by Lemercier, could not be followed because the land levels had been wrongly calculated. After discussing the matter with des Noyers, three more plans had been sketched and sent to the Cardinal for him to choose. Grandpré quite rightly considered that such a decision could not be taken without Richelieu's knowledge:

Cet ouvrage est d'assez de consequence pour n'y pas
travailler que Votre Eminence ne l'ait bien considéré,
car ce sera une des belles chose qui soit en votre
maison. 3

The Cardinal was as anxious to have fountains to embellish the gardens at Richelieu as he was to have them at Rueil. Again, he was constantly kept in touch about the details, and at the beginning of 1638

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1. Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, France, vol.809, fo.147.
 2. Ibid., vol.826, fo.88.
 3. Quoted by Batiffol, Autour de Richelieu, 1937, p.194.

told the Bishop of Chartres:

Je me rapporte au dessein que vous avés pour la
fontaine et trouve bon de faire l'un après l'autre. 1

A fountain beside one of the ponds was in the shape of a child holding a dolphin from whose mouth water spilled on to a shell,² and this could have been meant as a delicate allusion to the birth of the future Louis XIV. The large parterre immediately behind the château, known as the Parterre des Romains because of the number of antique statues which decorated it, had another circular pond in the middle. Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin described it in Les Visionnaires, a play written on the Cardinal's injunction:

Au milieu du parterre une grande fontaine
Jette en l'air un torrent de sa seconde veine.
La figure est antique, un Neptune d'airain,
Armé de son trident, dompte un cheval marin:
Le monstre, des naseaux lance l'eau jusqu'aux nues. 3

Some ten years after Richelieu's death, Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin celebrated the charms of the château and its gardens in a work entitled Les Promenades de Richelieu, ou les vertus chrestiennes,⁴ a title which sufficiently suggests its artificiality of manner. Nevertheless, the sixth promenade contains a poetic description of the reflection by moonlight of the château in the canal.

Que j'aime la nuit fraiche, & ses lumières sombres
Lors que l'astre des mois en adoucit les ombres!
Que ce palais pompeux me paroist bien plus beau,
Quand il n'est éclairé que du second flambeau,
Dont la douce clarté d'autres grâces apporte,
Rehaussant les reliefs par une ombre plus forte.

.....

Allons voir aux jardins en plus ample estendüe
L'ombre de ce grand corps sur la terre expandüe.
Desjà du grand Palais si clair, si bien dressé,
L'en voy sortir un autre obscur & renversé,
Noircissant le parterre; & ses superbes dômes
Sur la terre couchez comme de longs fantômes.

.....

1. Avenel, Lettres, vol.6, p.4.

2. Vignier, Le Chasteau de Richelieu, 1676, p.163.

3. Published with a privilege 20 July 1637. Act 3, scene 5.

4. Published 1653 with a dedication to the Duchesse de Richelieu.

Allons voir ces canaux: quel doux calme en cette onde.
 Icy je vois sous terre une Lune seconde.
 Icy le palais mesme, & si clair & si beau,
 A chef précipité se renverse dans l'eau.
 O! tromperie aimable, O! jeu de la Nature!
 Est-ce une verité? n'est-ce qu'une peinture?
 Ensemble en trois façons ce palais se fait voir,
 En soy-mesme, en son ombre, & dans ce grand miroir,
 Où tout est à l'envers, où tout change d'office,
 Où les combles pointus portent tout l'édifice. 1

So Richelieu's preoccupations with his gardens in his ancestral home were the same as those with the gardens at Rueil. Trees were all-important. The incorporation of large stretches of water, in canals and ponds, and the inclusion of fountains, was also noted by contemporaries as well as the fact that a river had to be harnessed to provide the necessary water. Statues and sculptured groups abounded. All of these elements of course were to be exploited by Le Nôtre to an even greater degree in Louis XIV's gardens at Versailles.

There was, however, one important difference between the gardens of Richelieu and of Rueil. At Richelieu very many more statues, bronze and marble, antique and modern, were used to decorate the parterres, the walks and the grottoes. The gardens at Richelieu were much flatter than those at Rueil, and it was perhaps considered desirable to increase the visual effect in this way, whereas the natural landscaping at Rueil provided sufficient diversity. It does also seem that Richelieu deliberately used these gardens to display part of his enormous collection of statuary, and it emphasises the difference in function of the two gardens, the one a formal exhibit surrounding the equally formal showpiece designed to enhance the splendour of his duchy, visible evidence of his position and power, and the other a much more intimate place, relished and cared for, providing relaxation and a refuge from the pressures of work. In his biography of the Cardinal, Aubery

1. Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin, Les Promenades de Richelieu, 1653, pp.45-46.

underlined the importance of a garden to Richelieu:

(il) faisoit avant le disner un tour ou deux de iardin, pour donner audience à ceux qui l'attendoient. ... Sur le soir il faisoit une seconde promenade, tant pour se délasser l'esprit, que pour donner audience à ceux qui ne l'avoient pu avoir le matin. 1

In 1635 Richelieu undertook the planning of a third garden, behind the Palais Cardinal which was currently being built for him in Paris. At the time, this was one of the largest gardens in the city,² and Desgots, one of the King's gardeners, was given the task of designing and supervising its construction. Two brothers, Jean and Pierre Desgots worked at that period at the Tuileries gardens, both cousins of André Le Nôtre, and it is not certain which one was commissioned by Richelieu, Le Masle's papers in the Hôtel-Dieu archives merely mentioning the surname in a note which gives the information that the gardener was paid 1,510 livres to provide:

le plan des allées de l'autel de Richelieu. 3

In the same month of December 1635, some of the planting was paid for. Nine hundred and ten livres were given to Monsieur Des Hayes, gouverneur de Montargis:

pour trente cinq milliers de gros charme et vingt cinq milliers de charville. 4

An engraving by Pérelle⁵ shows the gardens as they existed shortly before Richelieu's death. A large fountain was placed in the middle of a parterre near the palace. On either side were alleys, wider on the left side (looking from the palace) than on the right.

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1. Aubery, Histoire du Cardinal Duc de Richelieu, 1660, p.595.
 2. Sauval, Histoire et Recherches des Antiquités de la ville de Paris, 1724, vol.2, p.159. "(le jardin était) le plus grand de Paris sans contredit, après ceux du Luxembourg & des Tuilleries."
 3. Brièle, Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Hôtel-Dieu, 1887, vol.4, pp.291-292.
 4. Ibid., p.292.
 5. The engraving is reproduced in Champier, Le Palais Royal, 1900, p.43. It was made about 1640.

At the far end of the garden larger trees were planted, to provide a backdrop, and to increase privacy. Richelieu attempted, indeed, to insist that houses subsequently built around what he called "mon parc" should have no windows overlooking it.

ayant sceu qu'outre les trois pavillons que vous faictes vis-à-vis le logis de Mr. de La Vrillière, il en faut un quatrième pour empescher entièrement de voir dans mon parc, ce mot est pour vous prier de faire ce quatrième ainsy que les autres. 1

Richelieu used this garden, once again, to display part of his collection of statuary. Sixteen antique, white marble statues were placed round a large rond d'eau and there was also a bronze gladiator, measuring six and a half feet high, which was valued at 4,300 livres.² All these statues were transported to Fontainebleau, having been retained for the royal collections at Richelieu's death shortly after Anne d'Autriche took up residence in the Cardinal's palace.³

Twenty-five gardeners worked at the Palais Cardinal, the chief of whom was Nicolas Boutticourt, paid four hundred livres per annum, in addition to almost one hundred and thirty livres for supplying extra daily labour and wood.⁴ Boutticourt stayed on in the gardens when the Palais Cardinal became royal property following Richelieu's death: his wages by 1645 had doubled, according to a list of wages paid to some of those employed at what was by then called the Palais Royal.⁵ Boutticourt must have been regarded as one of the specialists in his field, because his design for the parterre at the Palais Royal was included in a collection of seventeen plates, published by Mariette, showing the

1. Avenel, Lettres, vol.6, p.48, and vol.8, p.144.

2. Boislisle, Les Collections de sculptures de Richelieu, Mémoires de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France, vol.42, 1882, no.149. The copy of the Inventory published in the appendix does not mention the gladiator, and neither copy includes the sixteen marble statues.

3. Champier, Le Palais Royal, 1900, p.111, and Boislisle, Les Collections de sculptures de Richelieu, Mémoires de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France, vol.42, 1882, pp.35-36.

4. Deloche, La Maison du Cardinal de Richelieu, 1912, pp.417-418 and 550.

5. Champier, Le Palais Royal, 1900, p.132.

parterres of various Parisian hôtels, including those of Louvois, Bouillon, Condé and others.¹

Richelieu also owned the Hôtel du Petit-Luxembourg in Paris, which, as we have seen, was a gift from Marie de Médicis in 1627.

Although he occupied it earlier, Bassompierre noting in his Mémoires in March 1626 that he had been commanded by the King to go there to see Richelieu who was ill,² Richelieu owned the building for twelve years before officially giving it to his niece. It had been her Paris house during those years. The Hôtel had a small terrace garden which was described by Sauval:

Cette maison fort délicate a un jardin en l'air et portatif, qui est toujours nouveau et entouré de vitres et de miroirs qui doublent le jardin et les appartements qui l'environnent. 3

Sauval's history of Paris was published in 1724 (although the descriptions were valid for the latter part of the seventeenth century) so it is difficult to know whether these gardens were there in Richelieu's day.

Richelieu's gardens were important to him personally, as a means of relaxation and as an expression of his own taste, circumscribed as this was, naturally, by the fashions of his day. Yet he was in the forefront of these fashions by having created for him some of the most interesting of the contemporary gardens, and so they become important in that respect to the history of the French garden. In his critique, L'Idée du Peintre Parfait, Félibien lays down a tenet equally applicable to the inspiration behind the art of gardening in seventeenth century

1. Deloche, La Maison du Cardinal de Richelieu, 1912, p.418.

2. Bassompierre, Mémoires, 1692, vol.2, p.357.

3. Sauval, Histoire et Recherches des Antiquités de la ville de Paris, 1724, vol.3, p.6.

France:

RICHELIEU'S ICONOGRAPHY (I)

Mais quoy que la Nature soit la source de la Beauté, l'Art, dit-on communément, la surpasse; ...La Nature est ordinairement défectueuse dans les objets particuliers, dans la formation desquels est elle, comme nous venons de dire, détournée par quelques accidens contre son intention, qu'il est toujours de faire un Ouvrage parfait. ¹

Richelieu's value as a creator of gardens was not so much in the field of innovation as in the early acceptance that he accorded to such ideas concerning the improvement by art on nature. The gardens at Rueil, in particular, provided inspiration to later interpretations, and Louis XIV and his gardener, Le Nôtre, in basing the gardens of Versailles on those of the Cardinal's, emphasised Richelieu's part in the development of the French garden.

Such other facets of his iconography as the portrait busts, statue and portrait medals will also be included here, but the engravings (taken sometimes, but by no means always from painted portraits) will be divided between this and the following chapter, those of a clearly political nature being dealt with later.

Any discussion of the painted portraits of Richelieu must begin with the artist who portrayed him more frequently than any other.

Philippe de Champaigne, of Flemish origin, was born in Brussels in 1602.² His early training was as a landscape artist, working under Jacques Fouquieres, and Félibien claimed that Champaigne was so skilled in this speciality that his master quite often tried to pass off the pupil's

1. For the complete catalogue of this artist's work, see Dupirel, Philippe de Champaigne, 1602-1674. La Vie, l'Œuvre et le catalogue raisonné de l'œuvre, 2 vols., 1976.

2. Biographical details about Champaigne's life are to be found in Félibien, Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens peintres anciens et modernes, 1692, vol. 2, pp. 374-584, Guillet de Saint-Georges, Mémoires inédits sur la vie et les ouvrages des membres de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, 1767, pp. 112-113.

RICHELIEU'S ICONOGRAPHY (I)

One of the most important aspects of Richelieu's interest in the arts from both a seventeenth and a twentieth century point of view is reflected in his iconography. Artistically, some of the portraits of the Cardinal, in particular those by Philippe de Champaigne, are extremely fine. The subject has another side to it, however, because Richelieu's iconography undoubtedly contained a political element: for that reason, and because the subject is too extended to be treated as a whole, it will be examined here in two parts. In this chapter the straight portraiture of the Cardinal will be discussed, including those famous portraits by Richelieu's preferred artist, Champaigne.¹

Such other facets of his iconography as the portrait busts, statue and portrait medals will also be included here, but the engravings (taken sometimes, but by no means always from painted portraits) will be divided between this and the following chapter, those of a clearly political nature being dealt with later.

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 2. Biographical details about Champaigne's life are to be found in Félibien, Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens peintres anciens et modernes, 1690, vol.2, pp.570-584, Guillet de Saint-Georges, Mémoires inédits sur la vie et les ouvrages des membres de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture, 1854, pp.239-245, and in Dorival (see note 1 above).

work as his own.¹ Champaigne's father apparently wanted to send his son to work with Rubens, but Philippe preferred to visit Italy and left for Paris in 1621, intending to stay there for only a short period before continuing his journey south. It was at this stage that he made Poussin's acquaintance, before Poussin settled in Rome; the two lived together in the collège de Laon, and were employed by Nicolas Duchesne, premier peintre de la Reine, on decorations that were being undertaken for Marie de Médicis in her new Luxembourg palace. Claude Maugis, the Queen's intendant at the time, was so pleased with Champaigne's work that Duchesne seems to have become jealous, and Champaigne decided to return to Brussels. On his arrival, he received word of his former employer's death and the offer of his post. Champaigne returned to Paris in 1628, marrying Duchesne's daughter the same year. He rapidly established a reputation as a painter of religious subjects and before his death in 1674 he had received commissions from virtually all the major Parisian churches.² His connexions with Port Royal were particularly strong; both daughters lodged with the nuns, the younger dying at an early age, but the elder remaining with them to take her vows.³ The double portrait of his daughter, Soeur Catherine

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1. Félibien, Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens peintres anciens et modernes, 1690, vol.2, p.572.
 2. Carmelite church (Faubourg St. Jacques); Le Songe de St. Joseph and others.
 Notre Dame; Voeu de Louis XIII, Nativité de la Vierge, Présentation de la Vierge au Temple, and cartoons for tapestries.
 Sorbonne chapel; the interior of the dome.
 Tubeuf chapel in the Oratoire (rue St. Honoré); Nativité, Assomption de la Vierge.
 Val de Grâce; decorations for Anne d'Autriche's apartments, including a series of the life of St. Benoît and saintly queens and empresses.
 Port Royal de Paris; Cène.
 Port Royal des Champs; Le Bon Pasteur, Ecce Homo, Cène, etc.
 St. Gervais; three paintings used as cartoons for a series of tapestries depicting the lives of St. Gervais and St. Protas.
 Jesuit Noviciate (Faubourg St. Germain); Annonciation.
 Jesuit Professed House (rue St. Antoine); Ames du Purgatoire.
 3. Françoise died in 1655, while Catherine took the veil in 1657.

de Sainte Suzanne and Mère Agnès, who was the mother superior of the convent, painted as a thank-offering after the miraculous cure of his daughter from a paralytic disease in 1662, is a masterpiece of restrained intimacy, composed and unflamboyant.

It is, however, as a portrait painter that Champaigne concerns us here. His sitters varied widely. He frequently portrayed members of the royal family and was commissioned to produce the portrait of Louis XIII, known as the Voeu de Louis XIII in 1638, which shows the King offering his crown and sceptre to the Virgin¹ and which was hung in the Marian chapel in the cathedral of Notre Dame. This followed the dedication by the King of his country to the Virgin at Richelieu's instigation in December 1637.² A group of portraits of the royal family (Henri IV, Marie de Médicis, Louis XIII, Anne d'Autriche and Gaston d'Orléans) was executed for the Galerie des Hommes Illustres in the Palais Cardinal,³ and he painted Anne d'Autriche at least twice again, during her widowhood.⁴ Champaigne also produced official commemorative portraits, such as the three group portraits of the

1. Now in the Musée de Caen.

2. The King had previously been persuaded by Richelieu to make a vow to the Virgin in May 1636, and after a few scruples had presented a silver lamp to Notre Dame. Richelieu's letter to the King of 19 May 1636 shows that it required some effort on his part to acquire the King's consent.

On ne prétend pas que ce voeu soit de difficile execution. Les dévotions qui se font maintenant à Nostre-Dame de Paris sont très-grandes: s'il plaist à Vostre Majesté s'obliger d'y donner une belle lampe, et la faire entretenir à perpetuité ce sera assez, et je me charge du soin de faire executer sa volonté en ce sujet.

Un redoublement de dévotion envers la mère de Dieu ne peut produire que de très-bons effects.

(Avenel, *Lettres*, vol.5, p.468).

3. Dorival, Note sur la part de Philippe de Champaigne dans la décoration de la Galerie des Hommes Illustres du Palais Cardinal, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1970, pp.324-330.

4. Dorival, Catalogue des portraits gravés d'après Philippe de Champaigne, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1970, pp.281-282.

Parisian magistrates,¹ and the portrait depicting the reception of the Duc de Longueville into the Ordre du Saint-Esprit.² It was at the same ceremony, held on 14 May 1633, that Richelieu became a commander of the Order. More than thirty years later Champaigne executed a similar group, this time to commemorate the service at which Louis XIV admitted his brother, the Duc d'Anjou, into the Order.³

The greater part of his clientèle, however, belonged to two categories: men of the church and men of the administrative class. He only rarely painted women, as apart from Joan of Arc (for the Galerie des Hommes Illustres) and the Queens already mentioned, he painted the Comtesse d'Olonne⁴ and seems otherwise to have confined his female portraits to the religious.

In contrast to the magnificent crimsons and scarlets Champaigne used in some of the full-length portraits of leading parliamentarians, such as Omer Talon⁵ and the Président de Mesmes⁶, and the delicate pinks, blues and golds of a charming group of the seven children of Henri de Monmort,⁷ he also specialized in half-length portraits of extreme sobriety. The elements of such portraits, where the sitter, dressed in black, framed perhaps in a window or sitting in front of a ledge, painted against a grey ground, were of such startling simplicity that

1. Guillet de Saint Georges, Mémoires inédits sur la vie et les ouvrages des membres de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture, 1854, p.242. The paintings were done in 1649, 1652 and 1656, Le Féron, Le Fébure and de Sève being the respective provosts.
2. Now in the Musée de Toulouse. A copy done for Claude Bouthillier, treasurer of the Order, is now in the Musée de Troyes, while another copy done for Claude de Bullion, chancellor of the Order, is probably lost.
3. This, and a copy of it, are both lost.
4. Dorival, Catalogue des portraits gravés d'après Philippe de Champaigne, Gazette des Beaux Arts, 1970, p.309.
5. Now in the National Gallery, Washington. Omer Talon (1598-1652) was avocat général au parlement de Paris.
6. Now in the Louvre. Jean Antoine de Mesmes (1598-1673) was made maître des requêtes in 1627, conseiller d'Etat in 1643 and président à mortier in 1651.
7. Now in the Musée des Beaux Arts, Reims.

attention is focussed immediately on the face, which Champaigne depicted with great delicacy and observation.¹ Many of his sitters in this category were Jansenists, or had connexions with them.² He painted several of the leading members of the community of Port Royal, with whom, as we have seen, his daughter was a nun.

Before Richelieu's death in 1642 Champaigne had painted comparatively few portraits and the major part of his work in that field was carried out in the following twenty years, in the period up to Mazarin's death. Thereafter, the younger generation of Louis XIV's court quickly ceased to patronise him. Indeed, his contemporaries never regarded him chiefly as a portraitist, as his reputation then was based largely on his skills as a decorative and a religious painter. So it was Richelieu who was one of the first to persuade him to turn in the direction of portraiture by commissioning the pictures for the Galerie des Hommes Illustres, and no doubt those for the royal family as well as his own.

Several art historians have written about Champaigne's portraits of the Cardinal, notably François Boucher and more recently René Crozet and Bernard Dorival,³ but there is still some dispute concerning the number of paintings of Richelieu which Champaigne actually executed, as well as about the provenance of those that remain in existence. We know from a receipt dated 16 November 1635,⁴ which was among Le Masle's

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1. E.g. Portrait d'Homme, now in the Louvre, and the portrait of Jean Hamon, a doctor, now in the Faculté de Médecine, Paris.
 2. Robert Arnaud d'Andilly, Martin de Barcos, Henri Duhamel, Saint-Cyran, Antoine Le Maistre, Lemaistre de Sacy and others.
 3. Boucher, Sur quelques portraits du Cardinal de Richelieu par Philippe de Champaigne, Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français, 1930, pp.192-208.
Crozet, A propos des portraits de Richelieu par Philippe de Champaigne, Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie, 1962, pp.19-27.
Dorival, Philippe de Champaigne, 1602-1674, La vie, l'oeuvre et le catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre, 1976, vol.2, pp.112-121, catalogue nos.203-213.
 4. Brièle, Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Hôtel-Dieu, 1887, vol.4, p.291.

papers left to the Hôtel-Dieu in Paris, and which was published by Champier in his monograph on the Palais Royal, that Champaigne had at that date painted four full length portraits of Richelieu, for each of which he was paid one hundred and fifty livres. The receipt, entitled Mémoire des portrets de Monseigneur le Cardinal duc de Richelieu faicts par Philippe de Champaigne, peintre, par le commandement de mondit seigneur, details the portraits as follows:

Premièrement, un portret de Monseigneur, de sa hauteur, habillé d'une simarre de couleur tout couvert de broderie.
 Plus un aultre portret de la même hauteur, vestu d'une simarre de satin noir avec une broderie sur les coutures.
 Plus un aultre de la mesme grandeur, vestu en habit de campagne d'escarlatte, enrichy de broderie.
 Plus un aultre portret grand comme le naturel, assis, avec le rochet et le camail.

Félibien informs us that Champaigne produced another portrait in 1640,

qui fut trouvé parfaitement beau. C'est le dernier qu'il fit de son Eminence, qui luy commanda de le garder pour servir d'Original, estant persuadé qu'il estoit difficile d'en faire un qui fust mieux & plus ressemblant. Il luy ordonna de retoucher d'après ce dernier tous les autres qu'il avoit faits auparavant. 1

This is confirmed by the list of paintings detailed in the inventory compiled after Champaigne's death in 1674, which included:

29 Item, le portrait de M. le Cardinal de Richelieu, dernier fait, original, ouvrage dudit deffunt, prisé 150 l. 2

Also of interest in this inventory is the next painting on the list:

30 Item, un profil de M. le Cardinal de Richelieu, de la même main, prisé 75 l.

There are seven extant full length portraits by Champaigne in public collections, and one three quarter length. Of the full length portraits, only one shows the Cardinal seated, and this is a most unusual innovation in the portrayal of a churchman who, until then, had

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1. Félibien, Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens peintres anciens et modernes, 1690, vol.2, p.579.
 2. Guiffrey, Inventaire des Biens de Philippe de Champaigne, Archives de l'Art Français, 1892, p.183.

regularly been painted sitting down. The standing pose was reserved for princes and statesmen, and that Richelieu chose to adopt it for his own portraits illustrates the importance he accorded to his rôle as statesman.¹ Apart from the lost portrait for the Galerie des Hommes Illustres, at least one other portrait is known to have been painted by Champaigne:² in 1646 Georges de Scudéry published Le Cabinet de M. de Scudéry, gouverneur de Notre Dame de la Garde (première partie) in which he describes a portrait by Champaigne, probably painted after Richelieu's death.

Dune ordonnance ingénieuse,
 Imagine bien ce Tableau;
 Fais y paroistre un grand rideau
 Dont l'estoffe soit précieuse;
 Fais qu'il semble estre soutenu
 Par un Ange qui volle nu
 Dont la main porte une couronne.

 Et fais y remarquer encor
 Et la frange qui l'environne
 Et les cordons à houppes d'or (...)
 Que sous ce rideau retroussé
 Dont le velours sera pressé
 Paroisse une large fenêtre
 D'où le jour tombe doucement
 Et qui serve à faire paroistre
 La Rochelle en esloignement.

In addition to the full length portraits, Champaigne painted the profiles of the Cardinal (right, left and three-quarters), now in the National Gallery, London, which were intended to be used as the basis of a sculpture. In the catalogue of the exhibition of Champaigne's paintings held in 1952, Dorival noted two other examples of heads of Richelieu, both in private collections.³

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1. Full descriptions and illustrations of the standing portraits by Champaigne are given in Dorival, Philippe de Champaigne, 1602-1674. La vie, l'oeuvre et le catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre, 1976, vol.2, cat. nos.204, 205, 207-209, 211, 212.
 2. Dorival, Catalogue des portraits gravés d'après Philippe de Champaigne, Gazette des Beaux Arts, 1970, p.312.
 3. Dorival, Catalogue, Exposition Philippe de Champaigne, Orangerie, 1952, p.41.

Richelieu's portrait was also painted by Simon Vouet, although the painting no longer exists. Félibien writes that after obtaining half the commission for the portraits of the Galerie des Hommes Illustres in the manner we shall see, Vouet managed to ensure, through the offices of d'Effiat, then surintendant des finances,¹ that he would also be given the commission to decorate the chapel next to the Gallery in the same palace:

(il) fit aussi dans le mesme temps le Portrait du Cardinal, qui n'en fut pas satisfait. Et comme quelque temps après il (Richelieu) voulut que Champagne le peignist de son haut, & grand comme nature, il luy demanda quel sentiment il avoit des ouvrages de Voûët. Champaigne luy en ayant parlé comme d'un habile homme, & dit beaucoup de bien, le Cardinal luy repartit, qu'il ne devoit pas faire plus d'estat de Voûët, que Voûët en faisoit des autres Peintres, qu'il méprisoit tous également. 2

No indication is given as to the size or nature of Vouet's portrait, but since it seems to be contrasted with the full length study by Champaigne, it is possible that it was of a totally different, perhaps allegorical, nature.

Contemporary sources offer some help in finding out where Richelieu placed his portraits. Even early in his career, it was evidently not considered out of place for his portrait to be found in his houses. Visiting Limours, a property bought by Richelieu in 1623, as we noted in the first chapter,³ Marie de Médicis was full of praise for the house, its decorations and in particular her own apartments. She had only one criticism:

Un défaut seul li ai trouvé: c'est que le maître non li est peint et que cela ôte beaucoup de

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1. D'Effiat was surintendant des finances from 1626 until August 1632, when Bullion and Claude Bouthillier came into that office. The decorations for the chapel are thus a little earlier than those for the gallery.
 2. Félibien, Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens peintres anciens et modernes, 1690, vol.2, pp.578-579.
 3. Chapter 1, pp.12-17.

lustre à la maison. 1

In Paris, Richelieu's portrait was included amongst those of the series of hommes illustres which decorated the gallery of that name in the Palais Cardinal. The twenty-five portraits (a twenty-sixth, of Turenne, was added in 1675 after the general's death) were painted by Champaigne and Vouet.² It appears that Champaigne was originally given the whole commission, as Félibien makes clear.

Après que le Cardinal luy eût ordonné de peindre la grande Gallerie de son Palais à Paris, & pendant qu'il estoit occupé à faire les premiers Tableaux des Hommes Illustres, Voûët, qui estoit alors en reputation, trouva moyen, par le credit de quelques personnes de qualité, d'en faire la moitié, sans que le Cardinal en sceust rien, & sans aussi que Champaigne se mist en peine pour l'en empescher. 3

The series consisted of portraits of the royal family, Louis XII, Anne of Austria and the King's brother, Gaston d'Orléans, whom Richelieu, despite undisguised and mutual feelings of enmity, could hardly omit by virtue of his position as heir presumptive to the throne. There were also the portraits of Henri IV and his consort, Marie de Médicis, but apart from these inevitable inclusions, the rest were of warriors and ecclesiastical statesmen who had been loyal servants of the crown. The implications of the choice, which Sauval says Richelieu himself made, will be discussed later, but here we need only note that there is no doubt that Richelieu's portrait in the gallery was painted by Champaigne and not by Vouet. Another receipt, also dated 16 November 1635,⁴ shows that Champaigne was paid one hundred and fifty livres for

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1. Batiffol, Le Cardinal de Richelieu à Limours, Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris, 1927, vol.49, p.244. The original of the letter is in the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, France, vol.247, fo.293.
 2. Dorival, Note sur la part de Philippe de Champaigne dans la décoration de la Galerie des Hommes Illustres du Palais Cardinal, Gazette des Beaux Arts, 1970, pp.324-330.
 3. Félibien, Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens peintres anciens et modernes, 1690, vol2, p.578.
 4. Brièle, Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Hôtel-Dieu, 1887, vol.4, p.297.

the portrait of Louis XIII, and fifty livres for each of five others, those of the other members of the royal family and of Joan of Arc. The implication is that while the first was the work of the artist himself, the rest were probably largely created by his assistants. Although no mention is made here of a portrait of the Cardinal, the date of the receipt, identical to that of the receipt already quoted, detailing the four portraits of Richelieu and the price of these, also identical to the price paid for the portrait of Louis XIII, makes it easy to assume that one of these four portraits, probably the first, in which the sitter was "habillé d'une simarre de couleur tout couvert de broderie" was intended to be placed in the gallery.

Portraits of the Cardinal were also in evidence in the family castle at Richelieu. In his guide book to the château,¹ Vignier states that one portrait was in the Cardinal's bedroom there, above the mantelpiece, and another portrait of Richelieu, this time sitting on a horse, was at one end of the main gallery, a pendant to a similar equestrian portrait of Louis XIII at the other. It is not likely, however, that these equestrian portraits were by Champaigne, as there is no evidence elsewhere that he did them or indeed that he ever otherwise painted horses,² and since the rest of the decoration in the gallery was executed by Prévost, it seems more probable that he also supplied these portraits. An eighteenth century description of the château,³ however, mentions two different portraits by Champaigne, one in what was then called the salon de compagnie, a room that had been

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1. Vignier, Le Chateau de Richelieu, Saumur, 1676, pp.94,99.
 2. The only horses that I can find among Champaigne's paintings are to be found in a Crucifixion (unsigned and undated) which was done for Port Royal de Paris. The painting shows the soldiers in the act of nailing Christ to the cross, supervised by a Roman centurion on the right. Nearby are three onlookers who, like the centurion, are on horseback. The two visible horses are poorly drawn, lacking all the clarity of the central figures in the foreground. It is possible that the horses were contributed by a member of Champaigne's studio. The painting is now in the Musée de Port Royal.
 3. Grandmaison, Description du Château de Richelieu par un anonyme du 18e. siècle, Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français, 1882, pp.230 and 237.

made by cutting off and restructuring one end of the long gallery. The other was also in a room constructed in the eighteenth century, the salle de billard, which, interestingly, also contained two equestrian portraits, one of Louis XIII and the other of his brother, Gaston d'Orléans. The first had evidently been removed from the gallery after its partial reconstruction, but the second is not previously mentioned. This description does not mention, either, any equestrian portrait of Richelieu. It seems likely that either Vignier or the anonymous eighteenth century writer was wrong in his identification: the latter leaves the name of the artist blank, while Bosseboeuf attributes them to Cligène.¹

In the inventory made in May 1643 of the contents of the Château de Rueil no mention is made of any portrait of Richelieu. The document was compiled, however, five months after Richelieu's death, by which time several things had been removed from the property. The Duchesse d'Aiguillon, who had inherited Rueil from her uncle, had obviously moved some of the contents to her Paris residence of the Petit-Luxembourg, though the items noted are trivial, such as bed linen.² A cabinet is recorded as having been given to Mazarin and this might well be the item described in the inventory of Mazarin's possessions which was made in 1653.³ Item no. 218 in the same inventory was a portrait of Richelieu:

Un portrait de Monsieur le Cardinal de Richelieu,
grand au naturel.

No artist is mentioned, but it can be safely assumed that it was by Champaigne, since other full length portraits of Richelieu are unknown.

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1. Bosseboeuf, Description du Château de Richelieu, Archives de Touraine, 1890, p.222.
 2. Inventory of the Château de Rueil, fo.972r, 973v - 974r, 1092r & v.
 3. Aumale, Inventaire de tous les meubles du Cardinal Mazarin dressé en 1653, 1881, p.261. Inventory of the Château de Rueil, fo.971v. See Chapter 2, p.76, n.4.

In Mazarin's post mortem inventory of 1661, this painting was valued at two hundred livres, another indication that Champaigne was the artist as this sum corresponds fairly accurately with the amount he was paid for his commissions for Richelieu. There is no indication of either when or how Mazarin came to own the portrait, but it is not unlikely to have been about the time of Richelieu's death.

Richelieu appears to have had the habit of presenting portraits of himself to institutions with which he had a personal connection and to people who had rendered him some service. All the guide books of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for instance, mention a full length portrait by Champaigne in the Hôtel de la Vrillière,¹ later the Hôtel de Toulouse (the building now occupied, though much modified, by the Banque de France). This portrait, together with another full length portrait of Louis XIII by the same artist, was in a room used, in the eighteenth century at least, as a dining room. It has been established that this is the portrait of Richelieu which now hangs in the Louvre.² In March 1634 Louis Phélypeaux, seigneur de la Vrillière, had bought the property and surrounding areas from Pierre Séguier and slightly less than a year later, in February 1635, he had allowed Richelieu to annexe about a quarter of the site for the enlargement of the Palais Cardinal. Although this acquisition is not included in the list of land and houses bought by Richelieu for the construction of his palace which Champier included in his study of the building,³ it is not unlikely that the portrait was presented to the compliant courtier in recognition of his service.

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1. E.g. Piganiol de la Force, Description de Paris et de ses environs, 1736, vol.3, p.265, and Thiéry, Guide des Amateurs et des Etrangers voyageurs à Paris, 1787, vol.2, p.339.
 2. Boucher, Sur quelques portraits du Cardinal de Richelieu par Philippe de Champaigne, Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français, 1930, p.201.
 3. Champier, Le Palais Royal, 1900, vol.1, pp.463-467.

Charles de la Porte, Maréchal de la Meilleraye, who was a first cousin to Richelieu, also owned a portrait of his famous relative. It was housed in the Château de la Meilleraye,¹ where, as we shall see, he also had the only contemporary statue of Richelieu. An incompetent soldier and a violent man, according to Tallemant des Réaux,² the Maréchal had reason to be grateful to his cousin for his continued support despite repeated mistakes and failures on the battle field. He was appointed grand maître et capitaine général of the artillery,³ and in this capacity kept his official residence in the Arsenal, where Richelieu stayed from time to time while the Palais Cardinal was being built.

Another portrait by Champaigne was prominently displayed in the library of the Sorbonne.⁴ The new college buildings were begun in 1627, the ceremony of the laying of the foundation stone being undertaken in Richelieu's absence from Paris by the Archbishop of Rouen, François de Harlay. Planning for the reconstruction of the chapel was started six years later and Richelieu himself laid the foundation stone in May 1635. The library was ready for use by the doctors of the Sorbonne in October 1648, although Richelieu had been sent a plan of it in September 1640. Richelieu's personal library was eventually given to the Sorbonne and in 1644 Michel Le Masle, Prieur des Roches and Richelieu's private secretary, had signed a contract whereby his own

1. Crozet, La Vie artistique en France au 17e. siècle, 1954, p.124.

2. Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes, 1967, vol.1, p.326. The Cardinal de Retz was only slightly more sympathetic in his opinion.

"(Richelieu) croyait, et avec raison, beaucoup de coeur à M. de la Meilleraye; il estimait même sa capacité dans la guerre infiniment au-dessus de ce qu'elle méritait, quoique en effet elle ne fût pas méprisable.

(Retz, Mémoires, 1961, p.10).

3. The appointment was made on 21 September 1635. His son by his first marriage, Armand-Charles de la Porte later held the same post, and after his marriage to Hortense Mancini, was made Duc de Mazarin.

4. Dézallier d'Argenville, Voyage pittoresque de Paris, 1752, p.282.

collection of books would belong to the Sorbonne after his death. The library was a long room of gallery-like proportions on the first floor, which was decorated by Sanson Letellier in 1647: it was painted blue with decorative putti:

les uns tenant de petits écriteaux et les autres
tenant des cartels. 1

At either end of the room was a chimneypiece, over one of which was hung the portrait of Richelieu that we have mentioned, and over the other a portrait of Le Masle.

François Boucher in his article² discussed a portrait then in the Bourg de Bozas collection, but which has now unfortunately been destroyed in a fire following its return from exhibition in America. This portrait showed Richelieu with, in the top left hand corner, a view of the Sorbonne chapel seen from the courtyard. If we assume, as seems most likely, that this was indeed the portrait displayed in the Sorbonne library, the dome, clearly shown in its completed form, gives a clue to the dating of the picture. The building was near completion in September 1640, when the Bishop of Chartres, Léonor d'Estampes, wrote to Richelieu declaring:

c'est merveille de voir cet ouvrage. 3

The roof of the nave was in place, the choir's vaulting was finished and the dome was constructed to a height of eighteen feet above the cornice.

les deux côtés du dôme sont couverts. 4

Given the state of the dome, the portrait cannot have been painted

1. Venard, La Sorbonne et Richelieu, 1973, p.27.
2. Boucher, Sur quelques portraits du Cardinal de Richelieu par Philippe de Champaigne, Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français, 1930, p.204.
3. Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, France, vol.836, fo.76r.
4. Ibid.

before 1641, but on the ^{other} hand, it was certainly completed before Richelieu's death, as a painting listed in his inventory as being in his antechamber states quite clearly:

Son Portraict faict de la main du Sieur Champaigne
tout de sa haulteur estant le portraict de la
Sorbonne. 1

A full length portrait of Richelieu was one of several which decorated a room reserved for receiving visitors in the Noviciat Général des Jacobins in the rue St. Dominique, a religious establishment patronised by the Cardinal who was regarded as its founder.²

The portrait by Champaigne now in the Ministère des Affaires Etrangères (illustrated) is suggested by Dorival to have been painted for the Palais Cardinal,³ since he claims that part of the palace forms the background and beyond can be seen the Butte de Montmartre and the Abbaye des Bénédictines. Dorival further suggests that this might be taken as a compliment to the Archbishop of Bordeaux, Henri de Sourdis, one of whose relatives was abbess there. Since no portrait of Richelieu is mentioned in the Inventory of the Palais Cardinal other than the one destined for the Sorbonne, and we otherwise know of only one further portrait, in the Galerie des Hommes Illustres, it is possible that this portrait was in fact intended for the new convent of the Benedictine order of the Filles du Calvaire, the foundation stone of whose church was laid by Richelieu's niece, the Duchesse d'Aiguillon early in 1635, whose spiritual director was Père Joseph, and whose protector was Richelieu himself. Avenel gives the text of an acte de donation to the convent of an annual sum of 1,000 livres, as well as an immediate gift of 6,000 livres, in return for which the nuns

1. Inventory of the Palais Cardinal, Item 1098bis.

2. Thiéry, Guide des Amateurs et des Etrangers voyageurs à Paris, 1787, vol.2, p.533.

3. Dorival, Philippe de Champaigne, 1602-1674. La vie, l'oeuvre et le catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre, 1976, vol.2, p.113, cat.no.204.



Arsenal, *Lettres*, vol. 3, p. 100.

An anonymous portrait of this type was made for

Richelieu, and is illustrated in *Les portraits*

Baraude, *Alphonse Lopez*, 1911, p. 85.

Documents du Ministère Central

sculpteurs et les graveurs

would be required to keep a silver lamp lit before the altar dedicated to the Virgin, and to have said a weekly mass

pendant laquelle les bonnes âmes qui seront en la dicte maison se souviendront de la mienne, bien qu'elle en soit indigne, demandant à Dieu qu'il daigne par sa grâce la mettre en estat qu'elle luy soit agréable en ce monde et en l'autre. 1

Later Richelieu gave the nuns 30,000 livres to help with the construction of the convent, and it would not be unusual, given the Cardinal's interest, financial aid and powerful protection, for the nuns to have had a portrait of their most important patron.

Naturally, Richelieu's portrait was sought by, or presented to, foreign dignitaries as a diplomatic gesture. Such portraits would be relatively small, showing only the head and shoulders.² The Prince of Orange sent a letter to Richelieu by way of Alphonse Lopez in 1629 thanking him for the present of his portrait, and ten years later another portrait, originally destined for the city fathers of Amsterdam, was kept by the Prince instead, and a second one had to be despatched to replace it.³ Other such examples of diplomatic courtesies could easily be multiplied.

Evidence of other contemporary portraits of Richelieu can be gathered from a study of inventories kept in the archives of the Minutier Central des Notaires.⁴ The inventory of Jean de Huycte, a master painter and sculptor, which was drawn up at the request of his widow Madeleine Guns on 14 May 1636, has as the seventh item:

Portrait du Cardinal de Richelieu, à mi-corps,
prisé 40s.

The item was valued by Daniel du Verger, another master painter. There

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1. Avenel, Lettres, vol.5, p.498. Dated July 1636.
 2. An anonymous portrait of this type now hangs in the Musée de Richelieu, and is illustrated in Auchincloss, Richelieu, 1972, p.115.
 3. Baraude, Alphonse Lopez, 1933, pp.86-87, 152-153.
 4. Documents du Minutier Central concernant les peintres, les sculpteurs et les graveurs au 17e. siècle, vol.1, p.329.

is no indication as to whether it was an engraving or a painting, but given its estimated value it is perhaps more likely to have been an engraving. However, another inventory made on 29 October 1642 of the estate of Pierre Bonnard, conseiller et intendant général des meubles de la Couronne,¹ mentions:

Un grand portrait de Monsieur le Cardinal.

In this case the portrait was valued at twelve livres by Claude Vignon, an artist who had himself worked for Richelieu when he provided designs for twelve tapestries decorated with the emblems of Louis XIII and of his chief minister.²

Georges Wildenstein, who directed researches into the inventories in the Minutier Central,³ unearthed details of more contemporary portraits of Richelieu owned by the Parisian bourgeoisie. It would not have been surprising to have found a number of engraved portraits among the possessions of the capital's middle class citizens, but here it must be noted that a painting executed on canvas is frequently specified, and in the first inventory noted, that of Pierre Lenffant, the portrait must have been painted at the latest in 1625; that is, only a year after the beginning of Richelieu's second ministry.

Pierre Lenffant, maître fondeur: inventory of 1625
(tableau sur toile)

Antoine d'Aguesseau, conseiller ordinaire du Roi:
inventory of 1645, (tableau sur toile)

François Franze, bourgeois de Paris: inventory of 1651

Michel Larcher: inventory of 1654, (tableau sur toile)

Gaspard de Faubert, conseiller du Roi: inventory
of 1654

Charles du Tremblay, gouverneur de la Bastille:
inventory of 1655

Jacques Le Noir, ancien consul et bourgeois de Paris:

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1. Documents du Minutier Central concernant les peintres, les sculpteurs et les graveurs au 17e. siècle, vol.1, p.329.
 2. Guillet de Saint Georges, Mémoires inédits sur la vie et les ouvrages des membres de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture, 1854, p.271, and Inventory of the Palais Cardinal, Items 1133-1137.
 3. Wildenstein, Le goût pour la peinture dans la bourgeoisie parisienne au début du règne de Louis XIII, Gazette des Beaux Arts, 1959.

inventory of 1655

Gaspard de Freubet, conseiller du Roi: inventory of 1657, (tableau sur toile)

Charles Dubosc, ecuyer, conseiller secrétaire du Roi et de ses finances: inventory of 1659, (tableau sur toile)

Hilaire Pellerin, maître peintre et sculpteur: inventory of 1658.

While it is not surprising to find portraits of Richelieu belonging to members of his family or of his immediate entourage, or even belonging to Parisian citizens who might feel more directly involved in the political life of the country, it is rather more unexpected to discover that Jean Guiton, mayor of La Rochelle at the time of the siege of the town did so too, together with a portrait of the Archbishop of Bordeaux, and another of Richelieu's uncle, Amador de la Porte.¹

A portrait of the Cardinal done in enamels was made by the famous miniaturist Jean Petitot² for the Duchesse d'Aiguillon after her uncle's death. Petitot was of Genevan extraction, but worked in France until he was forced to leave because of his Protestant convictions. He settled in England where he worked successfully at the court of Charles I: after the king's execution, he returned to France where he established a wide reputation in his own speciality. The miniature of Richelieu could therefore have been made only after 1649 and was presumably produced at about the same time as the one of the duchess herself.

Miniature portraits of Richelieu, however, were used before his death to decorate precious boxes, the portraits often being surrounded by diamonds. Such boxes were usually intended to be given away as presents. In December 1641 Richelieu wrote to Mazarin about various matters relating to the purchase of a bronze statue, his own bust which Warin was completing, and asking:

1. Crozet, La Vie artistique en France au 17^e. siècle, 1954, p.173.

2. Vigoureux, Jean Petitot, peintre en émail, n.d.

Schlumberger, La vie méritoire de Petitot, le miniaturiste le plus réputé du 17^e. siècle, Connaissance des Arts, April 1966, pp.88-91.

Il se souviendra des boistes avec des diamans
pour mon portraict. 1

The inventory made in 1643 of the Palais Cardinal shows that nine little precious boxes were in Richelieu's possession at the time of his death.

The most elaborate was valued at two hundred and forty livres:

Item 976. Une Aultre boitte aussy d'or esmaillé en laquelle sont appliquez neuf diamans à facettes et neuf autres diamans carrez plus petitz. Et au milieu le portraict de Son Eminence soubz un cristal. Sur le hault un petit rond aussy d'or esmaillé ou sont appliquez unze diamans. Le tout attaché sur un papier avec une chesne d'or prisé ensemble la somme de deux cens quarante livres tournois.

Another box had Richelieu's portrait together with a picture of the Virgin on one side and Saint Catherine on the other.² This was valued at one hundred and thirty livres. The simplest, a box with enamelled figures on gold, was valued at ninety livres.³

In addition to the painted portraits done during his lifetime, Richelieu's likeness was taken just before his death and on his death-bed in some remarkable sketches by Claude Mellan,⁴ an artist who is now better known as an engraver. As a member of Vouet's entourage, he was with him in Italy, both of them in 1625 living in the Via Ferratina in Rome.⁵ While he was in Italy he engraved many of Vouet's paintings and when he returned to France in 1637 (ten years after Vouet's own return), the association between the two artists continued. Mellan was intimately involved in the intrigues against Poussin during the two years that Poussin spent in Paris, 1640-1642, which Félibien explained as being a result of jealousy arising from the magnificent commissions Poussin received.

1. Avenel, Lettres, vol.6, p.889.

2. Item 977.

3. Item 974.

4. Now in the National Museum, Stockholm.

5. Crelly, The Painting of Simon Vouet, New Haven, 1962, p.9.

...les grâces qu'il recevoit du Roy & de ses Ministres, attiroient sur luy la jalousie des autres Peintres François, particulièrement de Voûët & de ses Eleves, qui en toutes rencontres ne manquoient pas de critiquer ce qu'il faisoit. 1

Despite the fact that it was Mellan who engraved the frontispieces designed by Poussin for the Imprimerie Royale,² tasks which Poussin dismissed as "bagatelles", Mellan never seems to have missed an opportunity of turning Sublet de Noyers, the surintendant des bâtiments and the man responsible for Poussin's return to France, against him. Mellan also engraved portraits of Richelieu, notably the one used as a frontispiece to one of Richelieu's theological works, published posthumously in 1651, the Traité qui contient la méthode la plus facile et la plus assurée pour convertir ceux qui se sont séparés de l'Eglise. The engraving seems to have been taken from the portrait by Champaigne which was owned by Georges de Scudéry and which was itself painted after Richelieu's death.³ The frontispiece for an earlier treatise (though also posthumous) of Richelieu's was likewise provided by Mellan; the engraving for La Perfection du Chrestien which was published in 1646 shows Richelieu kneeling amongst clouds in front of the Virgin, holding a book inscribed with the title of the treatise. The only other portrait of Richelieu by Mellan is a bust in an oval frame, with the Cardinal's arms and attributes underneath.⁴

Another frontispiece was taken from Champaigne, this time by

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1. Félibien, Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens peintres anciens et modernes, 1690, vol.2, p.335.
 2. The Imprimerie Royale was founded by Richelieu in 1640 and its administration was given to Sublet de Noyers. Poussin made two frontispieces, one for an edition of Horace and the other for a Bible. Poussin's complaint comes in a letter dated 4 April 1642 to Cassiano del Posso: ...employé que je suis sans repit à des bagatelles, telles que dessus de frontispices de livres, dessins pour orner des cabinets, des cheminées, des reliures de livres et autres niaiseries... (Michaud, Sublet de Noyers, superintendant des bâtiments, Revue Historique, January - June 1969, p.350.)
 3. Dorival, Catalogue des portraits gravés d'après Philippe de Champaigne, Gazette des Beaux Arts, 1970, p.312.
 4. Montaiglon, Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre gravé de Claude Mellan, Mémoires de la Société Impériale d'Emulation d'Abbeville, 1856, p.177, no.227.

Gilles Rousselet to decorate the Histoire du Cardinal Duc de Richelieu which was published in 1660 by Antoine Aubery. The pose is very similar to the engraving by Mellan for the Traité qui contient la méthode la plus facile, showing Richelieu seated in front of a desk in the act of writing.

These engraved frontispieces were all made after 1641, but contemporary engraved portraits of Richelieu were numerous. The Cabinet des Estampes in the Bibliothèque Nationale contains two series of portraits devoted to Richelieu,¹ and a study of them underlines the fact that almost every engraver of note of the period contributed to the Cardinal's iconography. Apart from the deliberately symbolical representations, the engraved portraits fall roughly into three categories, those which are a simple portrait, sometimes surrounded with a border, usually but not always containing his name and titles, those which again are a simple portrait but which have a eulogistic verse or inscription on the sheet, and those which show Richelieu in either his political or domestic role.

There are not many signed engraved portraits of Richelieu which are contemporary. One of the most famous of them by Robert Nanteuil from a painting by Champaigne is dated 1657.² The engraving shows the Cardinal's head and shoulders, surrounded by a wreath of laurel. An undated engraving taken evidently from the same portrait by Champaigne, by Jean Morin, is enclosed in an octagonal frame in which is written:

Eminentissimus . Armandus . Joannes . du . Plessis .
Cardinalis . Richeleus . &c. 3

The sitter looks towards the left, but this pose has been reversed by Nanteuil. An anonymous engraving in the volume devoted to Richelieu's life and ministry in the Cabinet des Estampes shows him in a circular

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1. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, N2 - 978 2 vols, (série Portraits) and Qb1 (série Histoire).
 2. N2 - 978, vol.1, no.17.
 3. Ibid., no.11.

frame wearing the cross of the Order of the Saint-Esprit,¹ but the arms above the portrait show the shield with the three chevron stripes which were the family arms, with only a cardinal's hat above. This is a curious anomaly. Richelieu's arms and attributes changed with the different honours and appointments he received, and the first of these, his being made Cardinal on 5 September 1622, meant that he could include the cardinal's hat above the shield. On 18 March 1627 Richelieu was given the appointment of surintendant général de la navigation et du commerce, after which date an anchor was added to his arms, hanging beneath the shield. After the family estate at Richelieu had been erected into a dukedom a ducal coronet appeared immediately above the shield, below the cardinal's hat. Finally, when Richelieu was made Commandeur de l'Ordre du Saint Esprit in 1633 the cross of the order hung below the anchor, or in an occasional variation, the anchor was removed from underneath the shield to be replaced by the cross, and two anchors were placed one on either side of the shield.² This information helps to date several engravings which appear to be contemporaneous with an event but which cannot in fact be so. A symbolical engraving for instance which was supposed to be of 1627 to commemorate Richelieu's appointment as surintendant de la navigation shows him seated in a shell-like chariot driven by Neptune.³ Two tritons (right and left) hold aloft Richelieu's arms, surrounded by laurel wreaths. The arms, however, not only display the cardinal's hat which is understandable, but also the ducal coronet and the cross of the Saint Esprit. The engraving can therefore have been made in May 1633 at the earliest, as it was on the fourteenth of that month that Richelieu was made a

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1. This is used in the volume to illustrate the occasion when Richelieu became minister in June 1624.
 2. For the variation with two anchors, see the engraving by Rabel, Cabinet des Estampes, Qb1, to illustrate Richelieu's appointment as surintendant général de la navigation in 1627, reproduced overleaf.
 3. Cabinet des Estampes, Qb1, 1627, reproduced on p.176a.



1. K2 - 978, vol. 1, no. 2.
2. *Ibid.*, no. 61.
3. *Ibid.*, no. 36.
4. *Ibid.*, no. 53.
5. *Ibid.*, no. 76.
6. *Ibid.*, no. 79.
7. *Ibid.*, no. 55.

commander of the order.

Other engravings are less ambiguous. A bust in which Richelieu wears the biretta and a shoulder cape is entitled Armandus tit. S. Card. de Recheliu Episcopus Lucionem Gallus, Septembris 1622.¹ An undated bust by Michel Lasne (c. 1590-1667) also shows a much younger man than many other engravings: Richelieu is wearing a biretta and short cape, without the cross of the Saint Esprit and has short curly hair and an upturned moustache.² Another young-looking portrait by Melchior Tavernier has the inscription: Armant Cardinal de Richelieu, Duc et Pair, grand maistre, chef et surintendant général de la navigation et commerce de France.³ Michel Lasne did at least two other portraits: one, an oval in which Richelieu's right hand rests on the frame was evidently made when Richelieu was still Bishop of Luçon.⁴ The other shows an older man, again in an oval frame but with a laurel border. Richelieu is wearing watered silk robes and the motto Semper Idem is inscribed at the bottom.⁵

After her uncle's death, the Duchesse d'Aiguillon did all she could to glorify his memory in order that he should not be forgotten. She founded masses to be said for him in perpetuity, had his writings published and encouraged the production of engraved portraits. Pierre Daret published a portrait in 1643⁶ and another in 1652,⁷ but many others contributed to this part of Richelieu's iconography too: often these engraved busts had a long eulogistic inscription.

Seated full length portraits of Richelieu are rather rarer. One by Daret shows him sitting at a table on which there are various objects

1. N2 - 978, vol.1, no.9.

2. Ibid., no.63.

3. Ibid., no.36.

4. Ibid., no.53.

5. Ibid., no.76.

6. Ibid., no.79.

7. Ibid., no.55.

such as a bell, an inkstand and a seal. He holds a letter in his left hand.¹ It is a similar composition to another by Chrétien taken from a portrait by Champaigne.² An anonymous portrait probably done to celebrate his appointment as surintendant de la navigation shows him sitting on a dais inside a pillared niche. The arms above have two anchors and no coronet or cross of the Saint Esprit.³ An unusual portrait of Richelieu on horseback (by H. David) is spoilt by the horse's inordinately long mane and puzzled air.⁴ Full length engravings which show Richelieu standing are not common either: the only (contemporary) one without a verse or inscription being done by Bignon from a drawing by Heince in a volume devoted to all the portraits in the Galerie des Hommes Illustres.⁵

Many of the engravings with a eulogistic verse or inscription were of course allegorical. Those which were not often contained a pun on Richelieu's name, a device which occasionally lacked subtlety:

Icy la Vertu se repose
Comme dans un riche milieu
Et jamais une riche chose
Ne veut quitter un riche lieu.
(Engraving by J. Valet) 6

J. Valet was responsible for another engraving which showed Richelieu with curly hair, wearing watered silk robes. Underneath is written:

Quelle playe Redoute la France
Aupres de ce dous appareil
Qui tient minerve en son Conseil
Et Mars sous son obeissance. 7

Jacques Labbé provided anagrams on Richelieu's name for another engraving:

ARMAND IEAN DV PLESSIS
Le Dieu Mars dans Paris

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1. N2 - 978, vol.2, no.6.
 2. Ibid., no.5.
 3. Qb1, Série Histoire, for the date 18 March 1627.
 4. Auchincloss, Richelieu, 1972, p.129.
 5. Vulson de la Colombière, Les portraits des Hommes Illustres qui sont peints dans la galerie du Palais Cardinal de Richelieu, 1650.
 6. N2 - 978, vol.2, no.2.
 7. Ibid., no.75.

Grand DVC c'est iustement que la France t'honore.
 Tu as rendu son nom redoutable en tous lieux:
 Tu as rendu son ROY par tout victorieux,
 Ainsique Le Dieu Mars dans Paris on t'adore. 1

An engraving by Guerrineau shows Richelieu standing near a table, holding a letter. Behind him there is a window with a view of a park, allowing a glimpse of a statue and fountain and underneath there is this verse:

L'on dit que les siècles empirent,
 Mais iamais nos prédecesseurs
 Nous, ny nos successeurs,
 Ne voyons ne verront ne virent,
 Des faveurs pareilles que Dieu
 Nous prodigue en un Richelieu
 Au bien et salut de la France
 De qui la juste integrité
 Fait paroistre en leur Eminence
 Les Armes et la Piété. 2

Jean Puget de la Serre (1600-1665), a mediocre dramatist who nevertheless had one success with his prose tragedy Thomas Morus in 1641, provided the inscription for an engraving by Michel Lasne. Richelieu is standing near a table, pointing to a small statue on it:

L'admire son esprit, je révère son Nom
 L'esclat de sa grandeur mesblouit et m'estonne
 Tout le monde est remply du bruit de son renom
 Mais les seules vertus luy servent de Couronne. 3

La Serre also published, amongst many other similar "parallels" Le Portrait de Scipion l'Africain ou l'image de la Gloire et de la Vertu, représentée au naturel dans celle de Mgr le Cardinal duc de Richelieu.⁴

The frontispiece for this work was also engraved by Michel Lasne, but this and similarly inspired engravings using la Serre's inscriptions will be discussed in the next chapter.

Latin inscriptions were also common. An engraving by Jaspard Isac dated 21 August 1634 has a bust of the Cardinal in an ornate oval

1. N2 - 978, vol.2, no.58.

2. Ibid., no.2.

3. Ibid., no.1.

4. Published in Bordeaux, 1641.

border. He wears the cross of the Saint Esprit. The inscription says:

Aspicis hic Patriae Patrem, Regisque Ministrum;
Hunc, Patriam, et Regem quis-quis amabis, ama. 1

Another oval bust shows the Cardinal without the cross, with curly hair and an upturned moustache. Its inscription is:

Sic oculis. Sic Ille manu. Sic ora decorus:
Pallada in hoc Martem Mercuriumque Vides. 2

Latin anagrams on his name were also used:

Jonnes Armandus du Plessis
Anagr.
En solus sapiens admirandus. 3

The longest Latin eulogy is an integral part of the engraving by Huret and Charpignon. Richelieu sits on a dais with his coat of arms behind him. Small cherubs carry laurel wreaths and drapery, while three larger cherubs hold up a scroll in front of him which tells of his and the King's good administration.⁴

Though frequently with symbolical allusions, all the great political and personal events of Richelieu's career were commemorated in engravings. One shows the King, the Maréchal de Bassompierre and Richelieu at the siege of La Rochelle,⁵ and another has a portrait of Richelieu which is surrounded by small scenes depicting the military victories of the reign, including the capture of La Rochelle, Pignerol, Casal, the Suze pass and others.⁶ The occasion on which Richelieu was made a commander of the order of the Saint Esprit together with his brother, Alphonse du Plessis, Archbishop of Lyon and Henri de Sourdis, Archbishop of Bordeaux on 14 May 1633, was recalled in a series of

1. N2 - 978, vol.1, no.66.

2. Ibid., no.68.

3. Ibid., no.70(b).

4. N2 - 978, vol.2, no.20.

5. Auchincloss, Richelieu, 1972, p.95.

6. N2 - 978, vol.1, no.6.

engravings by Abraham Bosse, perhaps the greatest engraver of his day.¹ One shows Richelieu's position in the procession which emerged from the Queen's apartments in the Château de Fontainebleau. Richelieu walks immediately behind the King.² In the engraving of the ceremony which took place in the salle de la belle cheminée, specially consecrated for the event, Richelieu sits in the front row of the cardinals next to the Cardinal de la Valette.³ In the engraving of the banquet which followed the ceremony, Richelieu is in the nearest position to the King's right hand, though the King sits at a table by himself.⁴ Bosse did only one straight portrait of Richelieu, a three-quarter bust surrounded by anagrams,⁵ but there are curious references to him in two other engravings which at first sight have no connexion with him. In one, the Atelier du peintre, a small portrait of Richelieu, amongst many others, stands casually against the wall,⁶ and in the Atelier du sculpteur a small shield bearing Richelieu's coat of arms is in the background.⁷

Other engravings show Richelieu at the side of the royal family in the daily routine of court life. One of the four engravings published by Mazot called Les Heures du Jour illustrating the principal moments of Louis XIII's day, depicts the King, Anne d'Autriche and Richelieu in the large theatre of the Palais Cardinal.⁸ In another, Richelieu is shown standing behind the King's chair as he and the Queen

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1. Abraham Bosse (1602-1676) began as an illustrator of novels and religious works. He later developed a very personal style and his engravings describe the life of the upper bourgeoisie.
 2. Cabinet des Estampes, Qb1 (série Histoire) for the date 14 May 1633.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid.
 5. Duplessis, Catalogue de l'oeuvre d'Abraham Bosse, 1859, p.68.
 6. Crozet, La vie artistique en France au 17e. siècle, 1954, p.41.
 7. Crozet, Ibid., p.41.
 8. Soir (exhibited in Mazarin, Homme d'Etat et collectionneur, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1961, Item 697).

dine, surrounded by their courtiers.¹

One charming engraving by N. Picart portrays Louis XIII holding out the infant Dauphin, the future Louis XIV, to receive the Cardinal's homage on his return from Picardy.²

A less amiable note is struck in a drawing which shows Richelieu pronouncing judgement on Cinq-Mars and de Thou, who were executed after an abortive conspiracy in 1642.³

Another engraving of the same year, by Grégoire Huret, was made to glorify the Cardinal on his magnificent achievement in restoring the Sorbonne buildings.⁴

Finally, on his death, a woodcut was hastily prepared with a long epitaph, entitled Portrait de Monseigneur le

Cardinal sur son lit de Parade. Richelieu was described as:

Grand en Naissance, Grand en Piété, Grand en Esprit,
Grand en Sagesse, Grand en Courage, Grand en Fortune,
& plus Grand encore en Vertu... Enfin sa réputation
a esté sans tache: & l'on peut iustement l'appeler,
LE SEUL HEROS DES DERNIERS SIECLES. 5

Another element in Richelieu's iconography is to be found in the portrait medals, struck usually to commemorate some particular event.

It had long been the custom for kings to distribute annually medals and jetons as presents and keepsakes. In 1642 Louis XIII paid 3,500 livres

à Jean Varin, garde et conducteur de la Monnoie du Roy pour jetons en argent et pour les bourses de velours qui les contenoient, y compris colliers, broderies d'or et d'argent doublées de satin, et pour la gravure des carrez d'acier faites aux armes et devises de Sa Majesté qu'il a fourny pendant ledit quartier de janvier, février et mars 1642. 6

The interest in many of the medals portraying Richelieu lies chiefly

1. Auchincloss, Richelieu, 1972, pp.24-25.

2. Cabinet des Estampes, Qb1 (série Histoire), illustrated overleaf.

3. Ibid., for 12 September 1642.

4. Ibid., for 1642.

5. Ibid., for 1642. Auchincloss, Richelieu, 1972, p.260.

6. Champier, Le Palais Royal, 1900, vol.1, p.112.



in the emblem decorating the reverse side. They either referred to a specific event such as a military victory, or were chosen to illustrate some virtue or facet of character. For instance, after the successful conclusion to the siege of Corbie, which was achieved in 1636, a medal was struck the following year with, on the reverse side, the emblem of a sailing ship tossed about by winds on the open sea.¹ The Latin inscription Furentib Eminet Austris (Il emporte au-dessus des vents Impetueux) could be seen perhaps to contain a neat pun concerning the identity of the enemy. . Emblems which were used to celebrate Richelieu's personal characteristics, however, will be discussed in the next chapter, as here we are concerned with the medallists who produced the effigies of the Cardinal, and the portraits themselves.

Jean Warin (1604-1672) was born in Liège of a French father. He came to work in Paris in 1626 and was eventually appointed head of French Mint in 1646, following the death of René Olivier. He was a brilliant medallist as well as a sculptor of note who produced busts of Richelieu, Louis XIII and Louis XIV. A member of the Académie de Peinture et de Sculpture, he also painted some portraits which were, according to Félibien, respectably lifelike.² His medals of Richelieu include two done in 1630, one to celebrate the victory of Casale³ and the other bearing the legend Tandem Victa sequor on the reverse.⁴ Warin also made the seal of the Académie Française in 1635. René Olivier, maître de la monnaie in Richelieu's time had also made a medal of Richelieu in 1627,⁵ and both Guillaume Dupré and his son Abraham struck medals commemorating the Cardinal, Guillaume with two in 1627

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1. Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Clairambault, 1135, fo.84v.
 2. Félibien, Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens peintres anciens et modernes, 1690, vol.2, p.565.
 3. Champier, Le Palais Royal, 1900, vol.1, p.13 and title page.
 4. Courajod, Jean Warin, ses oeuvres de sculpture et le buste de Louis XIII du Musée du Louvre, Revue de l'Art, 1881, p.10.
 5. Mazerolle, Les Médailleurs français du 15e. siècle au milieu du 17e siècle, 1902, vol.1, p.CXLIV (article René Olivier).

with, on the reverse, the inscription Ex Operae Gloria above the emblem of a pair of hands adjusting a laurel wreath to form a crown,¹ and Abraham in 1641 with a medal which had a portrait of Louis XIII on one side, that of Richelieu on the other.²

Champier published a manuscript apparently drawn up by Lemasle, Richelieu's secretary, containing a list of medals celebrating his master.³ He enumerates eleven, none of which were struck before 1634, so the list is incomplete. Indeed, none of the medals mentioned above is included. To the second medal on the list he assigns the date 1635:

Buste du cardinal de Richelieu. - L.: Armand. Io.
Car. dux de Richelieu (Armand Jean cardinal duc de Richelieu). - R.: Un ange qui tourne le firmament
autour du globe de la terre. - D.: Mens sidera voluit
(Son intelligence fait mouvoir ce firmament). 4

Lemasle is probably referring to a medal by Warin dated 1631,⁵ but since the inscribed date does not always correspond to the date at which a medal was struck, Lemasle's note is not necessarily incorrect. We have seen the same problem occurring in engravings when, given the successive changes in Richelieu's coat of arms, the event referred to in the engraving is clearly not contemporary with its date of publication.

It was only towards the end of his life that Richelieu became concerned with having portrait busts and statues made: as Courajod put it:

Richelieu n'a pas encore osé se décerner à lui-même
les honneurs de la statue. 6

The most famous bust was a marble by Bernini, executed between the

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1. Mazerolle, Les Médailleurs français du 15e. siècle au milieu du 17e. siècle, 1902, vol.1, p. CXXXVII (article Guillaume Dupré).
 2. Ibid., vol.1, p.CXXXIX, (article Abraham Dupré).
 3. Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Clairambault, 1135, fo.84.
Champier, Le Palais Royal, 1900, vol.1, p.468.
 4. Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Clairambault, 1135, fo.84r.
 5. Champier, Le Palais Royal, 1900, vol.1, p.5.
 6. Courajod, Jean Warin, ses oeuvres de sculpture et le buste de Louis XIII du Musée du Louvre, Revue de l'Art, 1881.

autumn of 1640 and the summer of 1641.¹ Bernini, whose chief patron and protector was Pope Urban VIII, received the commission through the intercession of Mazarin and Cardinal Antonio Barberini, the Pope's nephew. Like most other members of his family, Antonio Barberini was himself an art collector and patron, and had long been connected with France: elevated to the purple in 1627 at the age of only nineteen, he was given the special responsibility of being comprotecteur of France in the college of cardinals,² receiving a pension from France, and he was endowed with several French benefices.³ Later, after Urban's death and the subsequent backlash against the power and position of the Barberini family he lived in exile in France, being made grand aumônier de France in 1653, and Archbishop of Rheims in 1667. He and Richelieu had corresponded regularly, had met several times and had exchanged the usual courtesies and presents, Richelieu thanking the Italian for a "beau présent",⁴ while in June 1634 Richelieu arranged for Barberini to be given a diamond cross and a gold box inlaid with the King's portrait.⁵

The bust was brought to Paris by two of Bernini's helpers, Giacomo Balsinelli and Nicolo Salè.⁶ Its reception was mixed: the craftsmanship was much admired, but as Mazarin admitted in a letter to his brother:

Ma vi dirò confidentemente che non somiglia. A me dispiace in extremo perche l'eccellenze della testa,

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1. Wittkower, The sculptures of Gian Lorenzo Bernini, 1955, pp.209-210.
 2. The subject was discussed in 1630 (Avenel, Lettres, vol.3, p.723), though Antonio Barberini was only appointed comprotecteur in 1634 (Aubery, Mémoires pour l'Histoire du Cardinal Duc de Richelieu, Cologne 1667, vol.2, pp.213-222. See also Avenel, Lettres, vol.4, p.552).
 3. For Barberini's pension, see Avenel, Lettres, vol.7, p.204. For his French benefices, see Avenel, Lettres, vol.4, pp.453, 595, 774; vol.5, pp.287, 357; vol.7, p.219, etc.
 4. Avenel, Lettres, vol.7, p.224.
 5. Ibid., vol.4, pp.558, 585; vol.6, p.110. He also received a diamond ring.
 6. Wittkower, The sculptures of Gian Lorenzo Bernini, 1955, p.209.

che per verità supera ogni aspettazione, qui non sarà così universalmente ammirata, come si sarebbe fatto dalla somiglianza. Io non mancarò per tanto di fare valere l'opera e digià ne ho insinuato all'Eminenza sua la perfettione, e impegnato la maggior parte della corte a crederla similissima. 1

Naturally the tone had to be slightly different when writing a few days previously to Cardinal Antonio:

Sono arrivati le giovani del sr. cav. Bernino, che m'hanno fatto vedere subito il miraculo che portavano, così mi pare possa chiamarsi, perche assolutamente l'opera è superiore ad ogni concetto che se ne possi formare, ne credo, senza eccettuare gli antichi, che mai si sia, fatta una testa sì bella e perfetta. 2

Mazarin seems to have formed the intention of having the bust presented to Richelieu as a present from Cardinal Antonio; this idea had to be abandoned on the arrival of the studio hands who brought not only the bust, but a letter from Bernini with a specific request for payment. Presents, but no money at first, were sent to Bernini and his wife: they included a portrait of Richelieu in a frame studded with thirty-three diamonds:

Io non sapeva indurmi a ringraziare V.E. del preziosissimo regalo che ha voluto mandarmi, perchè consapevole del mio poco merito temeva di offendere con simile ufficio la sua grandezza che opera solo in reiguardo di se medesima. Ma, per non mancare a me stesso, debbo anche far risplendere alla notizia d'ognuno così ricca dimostrazione, affinché attribuendosi forse al ritratto che io scolpii di V.E. venga l'opera dal valore della remunerazione ad acquisitar quel credito che non avra saputo dargli la mano dell'artefice. Stimo ben io più qualunque altra gioia le lodi che ricevo da chi è ora solo l'oggetto di tutti gli encomi; e sebbene so di non meritare, contuttociò non ardisco esser solo in questo secolo ad oppormi al finissimo giudizio di V.E. 3

Payment was to be made when Bernini had made a full size statue of the Cardinal. In order to facilitate this, Van Dyck was to be asked to

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1. Courajod, Jean Warin, ses oeuvres de sculpture et le buste de Louis XIII du Musée du Louvre, Revue de l'Art, 1881, pp.30-31.
 2. Courajod, ibid., p.30.
 3. Bernini to Richelieu, quoted by Courajod, ibid., pp.34-35.

paint Richelieu's profiles:

sopra li quali potre V.S. travagliare con
sicurezza di non poter (avere) avanti gli
occhi ritratti che più somiglino l'Eminenza sua. 1

Van Dyck, however, died in December 1641, a few days, indeed, before this letter was written. Richelieu himself died a year later and so the commission was never carried out.

Bernini's bust of Richelieu was kept in the Palais Cardinal and, according to the inventory, was placed "dans le petit cabinet de passage pour aller à l'appartement vert".²

A copy of the Bernini bust, more likely to have been executed by members of his studio under the master's supervision, was procured by Hugues de Lionne, the minister for foreign affairs who rose to power under Louis XIV and who was one of Mazarin's confidential advisers.³ It is not known when he ordered the bust from Bernini, as a letter to Cardinal Pallavicini referring to the commission is undated.⁴ Nor is it known what medium was used for Lionne's copy: a bronze version, now in Potsdam, might possibly be the one that belonged to him. While Bernini was in Paris in 1665 to discuss his projects for the completion of the Louvre, Lionne asked him for his opinion on the house he was then having constructed,⁵ but Lionne had been in Rome in 1642 with Fontenay-Mareuil and while he was there had been in contact with Antonio Barberini, so it is possible that the commission was placed then.

Two other artists are known to have made busts of Richelieu, one of them also producing the only contemporary full length statue.

Francesco Mocchi (1580-1654), a Roman sculptor who also enjoyed the patronage of the Barberini family, produced a statue of Richelieu for the Maréchal de la Meilleraye, whose first cousin the Cardinal was.⁶

1. Mazarin to Bernini, Courajod, Jean Warin, ses oeuvres de sculpture et le buste de Louis XIII du Musée du Louvre, pp.32-33.

2. Inventory of the Palais Cardinal, fo.509r.

3. Wittkower, The sculptures of Gian Lorenzo Bernini, 1955, p.209.

4. Mentioned by Wittkower, ibid.

5. Blunt, Art and Architecture in France, 1500-1700, 1970, p.276 (7) n.18

6. See p.122 of this chapter.

This statue was placed in the cour d'honneur of the Château de la Meilleraye in Poitou.¹ The statue, now much mutilated, is in the Musée Lapidaire of Niort. The sculptor worked from the triple portrait of the Cardinal by Philippe de Champaigne (now in the National Gallery, London). The inscription found on the back while the painting was being cleaned and restored in 1922 makes this clear:

Ritrato del cardinale di Richelieu di Monsù
Sciampagna di Bruxelles. Lo fece in Parigi per
Roma al statuorio Mocchi, qual poi fece la statua
e la mandò a Parigi. 2

In her article in 1949 Mlle. Charageat concludes that two busts, one in the Louvre generally thought to be the Bernini bust and the other in Bayeux, are both by Mocchi and were probably preparatory studies for the statue. The Louvre bust is believed to have been taken from Notre Dame during the Revolution: it was traditionally supposed to have been donated to the Chapter by the Duchesse d'Aiguillon. Since however the Bernini bust figured on the inventory made on the Duchesse d'Aiguillon's death in 1675,³ she could not, of course, have disposed of it during her lifetime.

Apart from the busts by Bernini and Mocchi, Jean Warin, whom we have already encountered in connexion with his medals, also made a bust of the Cardinal, this time in bronze. Richelieu mentioned the bust in a letter to Mazarin of 3 December 1641:

Il (Mazarin) enverra voir chez Varin si son buste en
plastre est achevé. 4

Several casts were made of the bust, paid for after Richelieu's death by the Duchesse d'Aiguillon:

Au sieur Hubert Le Sueur, maître sculpteur,

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1. Charageat, La statue et les bustes de Richelieu par Francesco Mocchi, Etudes Italiennes, 1949, pp.159f.
 2. Charageat, ibid., p.153.
 3. Item no.917, valued at 1,200 livres.
 4. Avenel, Lettres, vol.6, p.889.

pour quatre bustes de Son Eminence, suivant quittance du 12 juin 1643; 3,000 livres.

Au sieur Henry Perlan, sculpteur, pour deux bustes de bronze; item, suivant quittance du 17 octobre 1643; 2,000 livres. 1

She herself inherited the copy which belonged to her uncle, and which had been placed in the cabinet de la chambre verte. Another copy belonged to Lemasle, prieur des Roches, and is mentioned in his inventory of 1652.² Yet another version, made in gold, was owned by Jean-Jacques Charron de Menars, Colbert's brother-in-law. A président à mortier in the Paris parlement, he lived in the rue de Richelieu.

Charles Perrault called this bust, which weighed fifty-five louis d'or:

Une des plus belles pièces en ce genre qu'il (Warin) ait jamais faite. 3

The library of the Sorbonne, not unnaturally, also housed a bronze copy.

Apart from Dézallier d'Argenville:

on y remarque encore un buste en bronze du Cardinal dû à Warin 4

the other authors of guide books to Paris, including Brice and Piganiol de la Force, all record the existence of this bronze.

There is only scanty evidence elsewhere that artists other than those commissioned by Richelieu or his family produced sculptures or busts of him. The inventory of Pierre Bonnard, intendant général des meubles de la Couronne, whose possessions, as we have already seen, included a painted portrait of Richelieu, mentions:

Un buste du Cardinal duc de Richelieu en plâtre avec les creux du buste, et plusieurs autres petites têtes, 4 livres. 5

The low valuation put on the plaster model makes it unlikely to have been the work of an artist of Warin's reputation, for example.

1. Champier, Le Palais Royal, 1900, vol.1, pp.84-85.

2. Champier, ibid., p.85.

3. Perrault, Les Hommes Illustres qui ont paru en France pendant le 17e siècle, 1700, vol.2, p.86.

4. Dézallier d'Argenville, Voyage pittoresque de Paris, 1752, p.282.

5. Documents du Minutier Central concernant les peintres, les sculpteurs et les graveurs au 17e. siècle, vol.1, p.721.

RICHELIEU'S ICONOGRAPHY (II)

Moving from Richelieu's straightforward portraiture to representations which include a mythological or allegorical register renders the discussion immediately more complex. In any form of iconography in which a person or his actions are compared to models from antiquity, it is possible to add a political comment to an otherwise neutral portrait. The subject's public rôle can be emphasised whilst his private one is nevertheless not neglected. It can also be noticeably more eulogistic to indulge in such parallels, and if in nothing else, Richelieu's contemporaries were agreed that he was notoriously susceptible to flattery in any form. Tallemant observed that he was avid for praise,¹ and Le Clerc was even more explicit:

Il aimoit excessivement la flatterie, & les compliments ne lui plaisoient, que lorsqu'ils étoient extraordinairement hyperboliques. 2

A symbolic level could be added to almost any of the form which Richelieu's iconography took. Strangely, the one area where allegory or mythology was hardly exploited was in sculpture, and the statue mentioned by Thiéry in which Richelieu was given Vulcan's attributes was, if contemporary, the sole known exception.

(La maison) de M. Lens est une des plus remarquables; elle a été batie par le sieur Bénicourt, favori du Cardinal de Richelieu, & Entrepreneur des Armées de France, des deniers, à ce qu'on a cru de son Eminence, & pour servir à ses conférences secrètes... On trouve sur la droite du jardin de cette maison deux statues de pierre, représentant Mars & Vulcain. Mars a la physionomie de Louis XIII, & Vulcain celle du Cardinal. 3

Paintings and engravings, however, regularly used allegory and mythology to help establish Richelieu's political persona outside a purely

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1. Tallemant des Réaux, *Historiettes*, 1967, vol.1, p.272.
 2. Le Clerc, *La vie du Cardinal Duc de Richelieu*, 1753, vol.1, p.403.
 3. Thiéry, *Guide des Amateurs et des Etrangers voyageurs à Paris*, 1787, vol.2, p.409.

contemporary context and emblems, whether painted, engraved or decorating medals were directly related to this desire to add a wide dimension to straightforward portraiture.

The gallery offered a unique opportunity for pursuing such imagery on a large scale; while it could hardly be decorated with innumerable simple portraits of one person, it could and did provide an ideal solution for the sustained representation of a theme or a life-history on a different level. Richelieu had had occasion to be involved in the planning of such a scheme early in his career, and since the Medici gallery of the Luxembourg palace must have influenced him when contemplating the decoration of his own galleries, it will be worth looking at this scheme in greater detail.

Thuillier points out in his study of the Medici gallery¹ that Rubens was not asked to produce a decorative ensemble that would dominate the entire available space. The gallery was in traditional French form; long and low, it had gilded and painted cross-beams prominently supporting the ceiling. The artist's task was merely to fill specified spaces on the walls. The innovation which the scheme offered lay in the possibility of exploiting a continuous theme, a eulogy of the Queen Mother which mingled the allegorical with the straightforward representation of events. These events were by no means so distant as to allow the artist much licence in their depiction. The programme, which was decided upon in August 1622, included a painting to show the reconciliation between the king and his mother, and this had taken place less than a year before.²

The twenty-four paintings which make up the cycle show Marie de Médicis not only as a person and therefore mortal (there are paintings

1. Thuillier and Foucart, Rubens' Life of Marie de' Medici, 1967.

2. Thuillier, ibid., pp. 91 and 133.

of her birth, education, marriage, the birth of the Dauphin, her coronation, the escape from Blois), but equally importantly show her metaphorically in the roles of Juno and Justicia (the Entrée à Lyon and the Félicité de la Régence). Although art historians have noted that these paintings had little or no influence on French art until nearly the end of the seventeenth century,¹ being completely alien to the late Mannerist and early Classical trends then prevalent, it is known from surviving correspondence between Rubens and Peiresc, reproduced by Thuillier, that the Queen Mother and Richelieu discussed the entire programme for the gallery. It is highly unlikely, however, that the theme was primarily of Richelieu's inspiration. When the cycle was started in 1622 Richelieu was employed to supervise Marie de Médicis' household. When giving this information, Le Clerc noted tartly in passing that Richelieu had accepted the position of surintendant

sans se mettre en peine si cela s'accommodoit avec la Profession d'un Evêque. 2

He had not yet returned to political power, and was certainly in no real position to impose a decorative programme reflecting his future policies on a queen who regarded her own position as secure. Nor is Richelieu himself portrayed anywhere in the series: a figure in cardinal's robes in the painting depicting the Treaty of Angoulême, which has sometimes thought to have been of Richelieu, is so unlike him that Morisot, the first to describe the gallery, took it to be that of the Cardinal de la Valette, and Félibien³ later wrote that it was of the Cardinal de Guise. In any case, when the event took place, on 30 April, 1619, Richelieu was not yet a cardinal.

The gallery was ready to be used for celebrations to mark the

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1. Blunt, Art and Architecture in France, 1500-1700, 1970, pp.112 & 221.
 2. Le Clerc, La Vie du Cardinal Duc de Richelieu, 1753, vol.1, p.31.
 3. Félibien, Entretiens sur les vies et les ouvrages des plus excellens peintres anciens et modernes, 1690, vol.2, p.208.

marriage between Henriette-Marie of France and Charles I of England in May 1625. Richelieu gave a banquet in the Luxembourg palace, followed by a concert and firework display, entertainments which were rumoured to have cost him more than 40,000 fr. In his Mémoires he mentioned the festivities very discreetly:

Le Cardinal...fit à LL.MM. et à toute la cour une collation et un feu d'artifice qui étoient dignes de la magnificence de la France. 1

At one time a second gallery was planned for the Luxembourg palace, parallel to the first, which would glorify the battles of Henri IV's reign. In August 1623 Richelieu wrote to his secretary, des Roches, who was then in Italy, to ask him whether Guido Reni would be willing to accept the commission:

M. des Roches s'enquérera si le sieur Guido Bolognese, peintre, ne voudroit pas bien venir travailler une couple d'années en France, au palais de la reyne... Il saura aussy l'appointement que ledit sieur Guido voudroit. 2

Later, it was hoped that Rubens would undertake the task, but the Queen Mother's disgrace prevented the project from being brought to fruition.

When the Château de Richelieu was enlarged and rebuilt after the erection of the estate into a duchy in 1631, a large gallery was planned to occupy the first floor in the left wing. Nicolas Prévost was employed to decorate it. Born in 1605, Prévost was regarded by Florent le Comte as a pupil of Claude Vignon³ and also of Vouet, who was certainly consulted about designs for some of the decoration of the château.⁴ Gaspard Daillon, Bishop of Albi had introduced Prévost to the Cardinal, as we learn from a letter dated 31 January 1635 from him to Richelieu, after he had made a brief visit to the château to deposit

1. Richelieu, Mémoires, 1907, vol.5, p.17.

2. Avenel, Lettres, vol.1, p.777.

3. Le Comte, Cabinet des Singularitez, 1700, vol.3, p.91.

4. Avenel, Lettres, vol.4, p.477.

two paintings by Poussin which were to be placed in the cabinet of the King's apartments. Reporting on the progress of work, he mentioned the gallery in particular:

Prévost travaille avec peine et soin aux tableaux de la galerie et si ie nestois point cause qui (sic) sert V.E. ie ne me pourrois empescher d'en dire beaucoup de bien. 1

Prévost had been retained in 1633; by then construction work on the left wing of the château which contained the gallery was well advanced and the Archbishop of Bordeaux, who was supervising the work, wrote to Richelieu on 30 July:

Nous sommes après les desseins des peintures de vostre gallerie. J'escriis au sieur Lemerrier pour en avoir son avis, pource qu'il me fasche de voir icy le sieur Prévost employé à des badineries: je serois bien aise de l'employer à ce grand dessein...Cet ouvrage demande pour le moins dix huict mois de temps pour en voir la fin. 2

In August Richelieu answered that the Marquis d'Alluye³ would consult Lemerrier, Vouet and Perrier about the subject matter for the ceiling paintings.⁴ On 14 December 1635 Prévost signed a receipt to acknowledge the sum of 2,500 livres paid to him

pour lesdits tableaux, tant faits qu'à faire.

The artist is described as:

peintre ordinaire du Roi, entrepreneur des peintures des tableaux de la galerie du château de Richelieu. 5

The following year he was registered as a peintre du Roi with an annual salary of 12,000 livres, the Comptes des Bâtiments noting that he was:

revenu depuis peu d'Italie où il s'est rendu fort

1. Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, France, vol.826, fo.88.
2. Avenel, Lettres, vol.4, p.477. The original of the letter is in the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, France, vol.809, fo.132r.
3. The Marquis d'Alluye was Charles d'Escoubleau, brother of the Archbishop of Bordeaux; both brothers were then intimate with Richelieu. See Avenel, Lettres, vol.8, p.294.
4. Avenel, ibid., vol.4, p.477.
5. Batiffol, Autour de Richelieu, 1937, p.166.

capable, et que Sa Majesté l'a retenu pour son service. 1

The gallery's decorative scheme was fairly complex, consisting of four interacting series of paintings. Eleven central oval ceiling panels depicted the history of Ulysses and twenty further paintings on the ceiling showed scenes from Greek and Roman history. These were arranged ten on either side of the oval panels and were aligned with twenty paintings on the upper section of the walls, which were spaced between the twenty-two windows and had the principal military victories of Louis XIII's reign as their subject. A smaller episode or detail from each particular battle or siege was fitted into the wainscoting underneath the appropriate painting. The paintings could thus be looked at as a horizontal sequence (contemporary battles, Greek and Roman history) or vertically as a series of carefully worked out parallels which added mythological resonance to contemporary fact. The sequences (ten on each half of the gallery) were established in the following order:

1. Capture of Tyre, by Alexander.
Capture of La Rochelle.
(parallels of the dyke, and the length of the siege)
2. Siege of Modena, by Antony.
First siege of Casal.
(both towns were the cause of long wars, and were both delivered)
3. Capture of Thebes, by Flaminius.
Reduction of Alais.
(final submission of the rebels)
4. Capture of Lacedaemon.
Reduction of Montaubon.
(both taken by a celebrated warrior)
5. Capture of the Rock of Sysimetre, by Alexander.
Capture of Pignerol.
(cowardice of the governors)
6. Crossing of Mount Olympus, Macedonia, by Paullus Aemilius.
Crossing of the Mont Saint Bernard.
7. Defeat of Cornelius Scipio by Hannibal at the battle of Ticinus.
Battle of Carignan.
(analogy between the terrain and natural obstacles)

8. Capture of Veii by Camillus.
Capture of Vic and Marsal.
9. Capture of Syracuse by Marcellus.
Capture of Nancy.
(both were key cities to the surrounding area)
10. Siege and capture of Corbio by Cincinnatus.
Siege and capture of Corbie.
(both represented an incursion by the enemy, subsequently stopped)
11. Battle of Pyrrhus against the Romans.
Battle of Aveins.
(an initial advantage but final defeat)
12. Death of Cyrus, Artaxerxes' brother.
Death of Montmorency at the battle of Castelnaudary.
13. The relief of Rome by Camillus.
The relief of Casal.
14. Struggle of Timoleon against the Carthaginians.
Struggle of Montmorency against the Italians.
(small force against superior forces)
15. Capture of Octodunum on the Rhône by Caesar's troops.
Capture of Chambéry.
16. Crossing of the Rubicon by Caesar.
Crossing of the bridge at Alpignan.
(declaration of hostilities)
17. Triumph of Scipio after the sack of Carthage.
Reduction of Nîmes.
(importance of both towns)
18. Capture of Carthage by Scipio.
Capture of Privas.
(fire and the end of the war)
19. Crossing of the Alps by Hannibal.
Crossing of the Pas de Suze.
20. Caesar's entry into Britain.
Defeat of the English at the Ile de Ré.

The eleven ovals down the centre of the ceiling showed scenes from the life of Ulysses:

1. Ulysses snatching Hecuba from Hector's tomb.
2. Ulysses thrown on to the coast of the Cicones.
3. Ulysses blinding the giant Polyphemus.
4. Aeolus holding back the winds.
5. Ulysses compelling Circe to give him back his companions.
6. Ulysses descending to Hades.
7. Passing the Sirens.
8. Ulysses being received by the nymph Calypso.
9. Minerva despatched by the gods to protect the hero's house.

10. In the disguise of Mentor, Minerva advises Ulysses to put Penelope's suitors to death.
11. Ulysses is recognised by his wife when he tells her his bed is made from olive wood. 1

Bosseboeuf attributes these paintings to Prévost and Claude Lorraine. While it is true that Claude, who was born in 1600 near Nancy, worked under Deruet for a time (and the series of four paintings representing the Four Elements, also in the Château de Richelieu, which were painted by Deruet have also been regarded as partly the work of Claude), the period during which the two artists collaborated ended in 1627 when Claude returned to Rome, where he was to remain until his death. The gallery was painted in the latter half of the 1630s, by which time Claude's reputation was firmly established as a painter of landscapes: a contribution to the Ulysses series for the gallery therefore seems to be out of the question.²

The symbolic aspects of the decoration do not need to be stressed. The symmetry of contemporary event, its Greek or Roman equivalent and, finally, in ascending order, the mythological register of the Odyssean legend tells its own story. Richelieu could not have made his intentions clearer.

References to Richelieu were evident in the rest of the decoration of the gallery. The tip of each window recess was shaped with a shell containing Richelieu's cipher, crowned with a cardinal's hat and the ducal coronet. Each pier, or space between the windows was surmounted with a ship's prow: these naval emblems were a reminder of Richelieu's position as surintendant de la navigation.³

1. Vignier, Le Chateau de Richelieu, Saumur 1676, pp.101-132 and Bosseboeuf, Histoire de Richelieu, Archives de Touraine, 1890, pp.215-217.

2. Röthlisberger, Claude Lorraine, the Paintings, New Haven, 1961, pp.6, 8, 54, note 9.

3. Batiffol, Autour de Richelieu, 1937, p.181, and see Bosseboeuf, Histoire de Richelieu, Archives de Touraine, 1890, p.214.

Le lambris, qui va jusqu'au plafond, est divisé par une corniche à la hauteur de deux mètres, et relevé de sirènes, de termes et de rostres accompagnant des cadres à oreille.

The details of this gallery's decoration had evidently been worked out more carefully than in any other contemporary interior. The pictures in the wainscotting of the Medici gallery in the Luxembourg Palace, for instance, had no connexion with Rubens' masterpieces, being simply a series of unconnected landscapes, while the ceiling was supported in the old-fashioned way with decorated beams. Fifteen historical scenes were used in the gallery of Sully's Parisian hôtel,

plusieurs belles et grandes actions de guerre, comme batailles, surprises, assiègements de villes et prises d'icelles où les personnes les plus signalées seront représentées au naturel. 1

Lesdiguières employed the Belgian artist Schanaert in his château at Vizille to paint eight pictures of his military exploits,² but mythological subjects were also much used: the Olympian gods decorated one room at Vizille, Jacob Bunel painted the battle of the giants in the small gallery of the Louvre in 1603, Diana and Calisto, Diana and Orion were used at Mornay, and the list could be greatly extended. The combination in the gallery at Richelieu of the historical events portrayed realistically, to which the mythological stories added a special symbolic overtone was, however, unique. The Queen's Gallery at Fontainebleau which was built and decorated for Henri IV in 1600 also contained a mixture of historical and mythological pictures:

Vingt-trois Tableaux en huile sur plâtre, d'environ sept pieds de haut sur seize de large, y compris leurs bordures en bois, et trois plus petits ornent cette Galerie, et représentent dans les dix du milieu, cinq de chaque côté, des prises de Villes, des Batailles et Victoires d'Henry le Grand...; les autres représentent diverses fictions Poétiques... 3

The mythological stories were those of Apollo and Diana, a reminder perhaps of Henri's love affairs with Gabrielle d'Estrées; a juxtaposit-

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1. Hauteceur, Histoire de l'Architecture classique en France, 1966, vol.1(3), p.923.
 2. Hauteceur, ibid.
 3. Guilbert, Description historique des Château Bourg et Forest de Fontainebleau, 1731, vol.1, pp.170-171, quoted by Bardon, Le Portrait mythologique à la cour de France sous Henri IV et Louis XIII, 1974, p.75.

ion without the same obvious and logical connexion as at Richelieu. In the middle of the Fontainebleau gallery, above the two chimneypieces, were mythological portraits of the king and queen, Henri IV as Mars, and Marie de Médicis as Diana. The small gallery of the Louvre, decorated during the last decade of Henri IV's reign, and subsequently destroyed by fire in 1661, was lamented by Sauval as not having been properly thought out.

On se plaint au reste, que les tableaux de ce plafond ne fassent point ensemble une suite d'histoire, et qu'ils n'ayent aucune affinité avec ceux des trumeaux. Quoique ce soit une faute assés ordinaire, on voudroit ne la point voir dans cette Galerie. C'est le seul défaut que les Critiques y remarquent, et qu'on pourroit excuser en quelque façon, puisque les Heros de quelques-unes de ces histoires sont représentés sous le visage de Henry IV. 1

The original intention had been described by Antoine de Laval, Géographe du Roy, Capitaine de son Parc et Chasteau lez Moulins en Bourbonnois who composed a project for the decoration of this gallery which was published in 1600 and dedicated to Sully.

Il est pardonnable aux hommes particuliers eslevez en hautes dignitez (qui n'osent pas ramener en mémoire le nom de leurs ancestres pour la honte de leur petitesse) de rechercher des fables et orneemens estrangers à l'embellissement de leurs maisons: et encor aux Princes nouvellement establis en leurs estats modernes. Mais à notre Roy, qui peut produire le plus venerable et authentique Arbre de Généalogie des Rois ses Ancestres, qui se puisse voir sur la face de la terre...ce seroit un grand crime d'emprunter ailleurs ce qu'il a si abondamment chez soy. 2

The result, however, was that Jacob Bunel painted the Battle of the Giants on the vault, and the walls between the twelve windows were covered with a series of portraits of Kings and queens, popes, cardinals, Polish and eastern sovereigns. This curious mixture was probably suggested by someone attached to Marie de Médicis' household to prove

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1. Sauval, Histoire et recherches des Antiquités de la ville de Paris, 1724, vol.2, p.38.
 2. Quoted by Bardon, Le Portrait mythologique à la cour de France sous Henri IV et Louis XIII, 1974, pp.77-78.

that her family tree could sport more than mere bankers.¹

The large gallery of the Louvre was no more integrated in its decoration. Topographical scenes on the walls were to have been surmounted by a depiction of the story of Hercules, but scarcely had Louis XIII died when the project was abandoned. Poussin had already returned to Rome, defeated by the animosity of Parisian artists, the difficulty of fulfilling a commission which he had not invited in the first place, and the lack of determination on the part of Sublet de Noyers, surintendant des bâtiments, to extract a worthwhile result from the scheme. It was Sublet, a creature of Richelieu's, who had been instrumental in securing Poussin's services, and his disgrace in April 1643, followed swiftly by Louis XIII's death and the installation of the Regent in the Palais Cardinal, marked the abandonment of the whole project.

Aussi est-ce pour cela que dans cette voûte nous y voyons tant de choses qui n'ont entre elles aucun rapport et de plus tant de petits compartimens qui ne répondent point à la grandeur d'une telle galerie. On croyoit alors achever l'ouvrage; mais s'y étant mal pris, on a tout laissé là: le quart des compartimens des stucs et des camayeux n'a pas seulement été fait, et même on n'a pas dressé la cinquième partie des pilastres, ni doré la dixième; et quant aux tableaux, aucun n'a été commencé. 2

The decoration which was planned for the two galleries in the Palais Cardinal showed, separately, the two different trends. In the smaller, the Galerie de l'avant-cour (also known as the "petite galerie" or the "galerie des objets d'art") which was situated on the left hand of the first courtyard, Philippe de Champaigne decorated the ceiling with five paintings designed to emphasise Richelieu's virtues. Sauval described it as having been:

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1. Hauteceur, Histoire de l'Architecture classique en France, 1966, vol.1 (3), p.88.
 2. Sauval, Histoire et recherches des Antiquités de la ville de Paris, 1724, vol.2, p.44.

la plus riche, & la mieux entendue de Paris; aussi n'y avoit-il point de morceau dans ce Palais qui plût tant au Cardinal. 1

He also claimed that Richelieu had intended to house the best pieces of his collections of pictures and marbles there. Marble busts and landscapes were placed around the top of the walls, with a spectacular frieze:

cette belle frise marine que Bernard avoit faite de blanc & de noir sur le manteau de la cheminée, & qui a trompé tous ceux qui l'ont contemplé; cette frise, dis-je, subsiste encore, & trompe encore tous ceux qui la regardent; il n'y a qui que ce soit à qui de près aussi-bien que de loin, elle ne paroisse de relief, & enfin qui n'avoue que cette copie vaut bien l'original qu'on voit à Fontainebleau. 2

It was, however, the ceiling, "peinte & conduite" by Champaigne which received the most praise.

des blancs & noirs, des tableaux, des rostres imités de l'antique, & des chiffres du Cardinal de Richelieu, environnés de lauriers, étoient répandus dans cette voûte sur un grand fond d'or feint en mosaïque, avec autant d'ordre que d'esprit, & composoient ensemble comme une sorte de panégyrique à l'honneur du Maître de la maison. 3

According to Sauval, Champaigne contributed only the paintings, the rest of the decoration being done by lesser artists. The whole of the ceiling was later removed in order to make an apartment for the Duc d'Anjou, a room which it seems was never finished, and scarcely used. This reconstruction work was started almost as soon as the Regent and the royal family took possession of the palace in 1643 when the ceiling paintings were dispersed, and although Sauval attributes them exclusively to Champaigne, later writers including Champier⁴ judged that Vouet had also been partly responsible for the decoration. Sauval, followed by

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1. Sauval, Histoire et recherches des Antiquités de la ville de Paris, 1724, vol.2, p.164.
 2. Sauval, ibid., p.164.
 3. Sauval, ibid., p.164.
 4. Champier, Le Palais Royal, 1900, vol.1, p.54.

Félibien¹ and Guillet de Saint-Georges,² all say that Champaigne alone was responsible, but he was describing a room which no longer existed in the state in which it was originally conceived, since Sauval wrote his history around 1660, and the ceiling paintings had been moved some fifteen years earlier. Vouet's work, moreover, contains many examples of portraits of allegorical figures, including allegories of Peace,³ an allegory of Peace and Abundance for the palace owned by Mazarin,⁴ and an allegory of the Arts.⁵ A painting in the Louvre known as La Prudence amène la Paix et l'Abondance is now assumed to be part of the decoration of this gallery⁶ and might well be the painting which Sauval describes last, although the reference must be inexact. He describes the five ceiling paintings as follows:

Champaigne donc, dans le premier tableau de la voûte avoit représenté la figure de la Felicité Publique, tenant en main une corne d'abondance pleine de Sceptres & de Couronnes, éclairée dans le ciel de l'oeil brillant de la Prevoyance, accompagnée de Mercure & de Minerve, assistés de leurs symboles. Par cet emblème il n'est pas difficile de juger que ce Peintre vouloit faire entendre que, si le Cardinal de Richelieu avoit arraché quelques fleurons de Couronne, d'Espagne, des Princes d'Allemagne, & de l'Empereur, c'étoit par sa prudence, par son conseil, par son raisonnement, & par sa vigilance, qui l'éclairaient dans les affaires les plus sombres & les plus embarrassées.

A l'une des extremités du second tableau, la Prevoyance paroît assise sur les nues, accoudée sur le globe du monde, tenant un timon dans la main droite, & de l'autre une massue; à l'autre bout l'Histoire, vêtue d'une robe blanche... étoit sur les épaules de Saturne: dans une hauteur au-dessus, on voit deux petits enfans qui voltigent entre deux airs, & folatrent avec un Serpant arrondi en cercle, & se mordant la queue. Toutes ces figures vouloient sans doute dire que nos neveux apprendroient d'une histoire pure & désintéressée

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1. Félibien, Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens peintres anciens et modernes, 1690, vol.2, p.576.
 2. Guillet de Saint-Georges, Mémoires inédits sur la vie et les ouvrages des membres de l'Académie Royale de peinture et de sculpture, 1854, p.241.
 3. Crelly, The Painting of Simon Vouet, New Haven, 1962, catalogue nos. 20 (now at Chatsworth) and 21 (now at Cherbourg).
 4. Crelly, ibid., catalogue no. 101 (Bibliothèque Nationale).
 5. Crelly, ibid., catalogue no. 129 (Palazzo Barberini, Rome).
 6. Crelly, ibid., catalogue no. 86.

la prevoyance & la vigilance du Cardinal, & que ses actions, malgré le tems & l'envie, passeroient à l'éternité...

Dans le centre du troisième tableau, Apollon le Dieu des arts & de la lumière, monté sur une nue, joue de la Lire: là il est environné des arts, des sciences & des Muses; les unes concertent & chantent ensemble les éloges de leur Maître; les autres l'admirent & méditent son panégyrique. C'étoit là proprement l'occupation des beaux esprits du tems du Cardinal de Richelieu, pendant que lui de son côté discourroit souvent avec eux, les maintenoit & leur faisoit du bien.

Junon dans le quatrième, tenant de la main droite une Grenade, & de la gauche une Olive, marche à la tête de l'Abondance, de la Vertue Heroïque, & de la Renommée. Champagne assurément eseroit alors... la paix; il est bien constant qu'elle dépendoit absolument du Cardinal; & même en ce tems là il y avoit grande apparence qu'il nous la donneroit si heureuse, que toute la terre l'apprendroit avec étonnement de la bouche de la Renommée.

Le dernier Trophée érigé dans cette Gallerie à la vertu du Cardinal, ne consiste qu'en trois figures. La principale represente le genie de ce grand Ministre; les deux autres, sa prudence & sa generosité. Ce genie est monté sur un trône relevé de quelques marches; ses deux compagnes à ses pieds, sont assises au bas du trône. Au reste, si Champagne a introduit la Prudence dans la plupart des tableaux de cette Gallerie, c'est qu'il a cru avec raison, que c'étoit plus par cette vertu, que par toutes les autres ensembles, que nous nous rendions immortels; & qu'il avoit remarqué dans les actions du Cardinal que la prudence en rehaussoit d'ordinaire l'éclat & la grandeur. 1

The larger and more famous of the galleries in the Palais Cardinal, the Galerie des Hommes Illustres, contained a series of historical portraits of famous statesmen and warriors who had served the crown, and of the then and previous royal families. There were twenty-five portraits in all. The commission had in the first place been given only to Champagne, but Vouet had managed to procure "half" of it in the manner that we saw,² though Dorival has shown that this

1. Sauval, *Histoire et recherches des Antiquités de la ville de Paris*, 1724, vol.2, pp.164-165.
 2. See Chapter 4, p.118.

amounted simply to the seven portraits displayed between the eight windows of the wall overlooking the courtyard as well as one other, which meant that although technically he decorated roughly half the wall space, he had to produce only a third of the total number of the portraits.¹ Vouet's subjects were Suger, Simon de Montfort, Gaucher de Châtillon, Bertrand Duguesclin, Olivier de Clisson, the maréchal de Boucicaut and the Bastard of Orléans (the comte de Dunois), and above a doorway on another wall, the Cardinal d'Amboise. Champagne provided the portraits of Jeanne d'Arc, Gaston de Foix, Bayard, Charles de Cossé-Brissac, Anne de Montmorency, François de Guise, the Cardinal de Lorraine, Blaise de Monluc, Armand de Gontaud-Biron, Lesdiguières, of Richelieu himself, La Trémoille, Henri IV, Marie de Médicis, Anne d'Autriche, Gaston d'Orléans (elegantly disposed of in one of the least commanding positions, over the entrance door) and Louis XIII, the largest of all the portraits, occupying the end wall on the left of the main entrance, and the only portrait to be accompanied by a pictorial conceit, a female figure of Victory. Each portrait had a Latin inscription in gold lettering at the foot, and was surrounded with emblems and small illustrations of the subject's most notable actions. Evelyn, who saw the palace on 18 November 1649, simply mentions the gallery as

painted with the portraits of the most Illustrious Persons, & signal actions in France, with innumerable Emblemes twixt every table. ²

Sauval says that the choice of those included were people

qui par leurs conseils & par leur courage ont maintenu de tout tems la Couronne: lui même (i.e. Richelieu) en fit le choix, & les rangea ainsi que nous les voyons. ³

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1. Dorival, Note sur la part de Philippe de Champagne dans la décoration de la Galerie des Hommes Illustres du Palais Cardinal, Gazette des Beaux Arts, 1970, pp.324-330.
 2. Evelyn, Diary, 1955, vol.2, p.566.
 3. Sauval, Histoire et recherches des Antiquités de la ville de Paris, 1724, vol.2, p.166.

Of the twenty portraits, not including those of the immediate and previous royal families, warriors far outnumbered ministers of state. Those ministers, however, were all churchmen - the Cardinals of Lorraine, of Amboise and of Richelieu. Because of the chronological arrangement of the portraits, Richelieu's was placed next to Louis XIII's, separated only by the smaller, squarer portrait of Marie de Médicis which was placed higher, over a door in that corner. Richelieu's portrait was in fact the first of the portraits to be seen by anyone entering the gallery by the main entrance, being directly opposite the doorway: it thus gained in impact and importance.

It is notable that Richelieu's choice of illustrious men excluded all French kings except, of course, Louis XIII to whom he owed his position and Henri IV, the husband of Richelieu's first protectress. For the same obvious reasons, Marie de Médicis, Anne d'Autriche and Gaston d'Orléans could not be left out, but all of these royal portraits, with the exception of Louis XIII's which was bigger than the others and dominated the gallery from its position on one end wall (windows on the other end wall allowed Louis' portrait the distinction of being the only one to have a wall to itself), were designed to be placed over doorways - or in Henri IV's case a window giving on to a small, inner courtyard - and were thus smaller, and squarer than the dimensions of all the other full-length portraits. When the gallery was decorated, Marie de Médicis was in disgrace, in exile in the Low Countries. Her position is subtly illustrated by the fact that she holds flowers and a handkerchief rather than a sceptre, and the royal crown is placed in the background, on a table. Anne d'Autriche on the other hand is dressed in a fleur-de-lys gown, a crown on her head and she carries a sceptre.

Each portrait was accompanied, as Sauval noted, by

des distiques, des emblèmes, & quelques representations
de ce qu'ils ont fait de memorable. Les Distiques sont

en lettres d'or au bas de chaque portrait, & aux deux côtés les emblèmes et les actions signalées separement. 1

Although Champaigne and Vouet produced the portraits with the help of their studio hands, two other artists were employed to paint the rest of the decoration, including the emblems and small scenes around each portrait. Juste d'Egmont (1601-1674) was employed in Vouet's studio to work on his designs, turning them into cartoons for tapestries. Charles Poerson (1609-1667) was later to work for Anne d'Autriche when, as regent, she lived in the Palais Cardinal and had extensive redecoration carried out. He collaborated with other artists in a series of the life and attributes of the Virgin in the Queen's private chapel. A member of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture from August 1651 (whereas Juste d'Egmont had belonged since its inception), he was later to be made one of its rectors.²

Sauval recalled the disputes that surrounded the composition of the emblems:

Bourbon³ fit les distiques & les éloges; mais ce ne sont pas les mêmes que ceux qui y sont aujourd'hui; il n'y en a, dit-on, qu'une partie, ceux qu'il avoit faits étoient tous excellens, & ont été gatés par des ignorans, & par ses ennemis. Guisse Interprete Royal, composa tout ce grand nombre d'emblèmes qu'on y voit; de ce tems-la il n'y avoit personne en France, qui fut ni mieux versé que lui en ce genre-là, ni plus fertile. Montmaur⁴ qui n'étoit pas de cet avis-là,

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1. Sauval, Histoire et recherches des Antiquités de la ville de Paris, 1724, vol.2, p.166.
 2. Janneau, La peinture française au XVIIe siècle, Geneva, 1965, p.151.
 3. Nicolas Bourbon (1574-1644) was one of the most famous humanists of the early seventeenth century. A collection of Latin poems appeared in 1630 and he was regarded as one of the best Latin poets of his day. He held the chair of Greek eloquence for a while, in the Collège Royal, was elected to the Académie Française in 1637 and received a pension from Richelieu.
 4. Pierre de Montmaur (1576-1650?) was also a professor of Greek at the Collège Royal, holding the post from 1623. A man with an unenviable reputation, stubborn, pedantic and strongwilled, he was the object of a concerted attack, indeed a prolonged battle headed by Ménage, but indulged in by other literary men including Sarasin, Scarron and Balzac. Montmaur was publicly routed in 1637 when he upheld some false quotations in front of Séguier, only to be corrected by Nicolas Bourbon.

s'imagina que cet Aventurier avoit entrepris sur sa charge d'Intendant des devise, & même se vanta si publiquement, que Guisse avoit emprunté de lui quelques-unes de ces emblèmes, que cet Interprete en 1644, fut obligé de refuter par écrit cette calomnie, & de détromper ceux que son adversaire avoit préoccupés; & apparamment c'est ce qui lui fit mettre au jour ces emblèmes, mais que depuis nous avons vu paroître (*sic*) avec bien plus d'ordre & de bruit, lorsque Heintz & Bignon donnerent au Public, dans un Volume in-folio, cette Gallerie toute entiere... Les moindres beautés de ce Livre sont les emblèmes & les ornemens. 1

A manuscript in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal² gives a list of suggestions for the devises which are to accompany the portraits. The list is incomplete - none of the royal portraits is included - and there are one or two suggestions which were not finally taken up. Each person is given a short biographical description so that the chosen devise can be fully understood.³

1. Sauval, Histoire et recherches des Antiquités de la ville de Paris, 1724, vol.2, p.166.
2. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms.4127, Recueil Conrart, vol.22, pp.439ff.
3. E.g. Jean Bâtard d'Orléans Comte de Dunois tint une Illustre place dans nôtre histoire. Il fut en son temps le restaurateur de cêt Etat; mais je voudrois bien qu'on représentât autour de luy ces deux foudres de guerre, Poton & la Hire, & qu'on leur baillât pour leur commun éloge:

egregii animis quae sanguine nobis hanc
patriam peperere suo. (p.441)

One of the suggested people not finally included in the list was Odet de Foix (brother of Gaston de Foix, duc de Nemours whose portrait was painted by Champaigne for the gallery).

(le) seigneur de Lautrec en a bien plus faict que luy (i.e. Gaston de Foix) & quoy qu'il fût malheureux, il ne laissoit pas d'estre bien sage & bien vaillant. Si Mr. le Cardinal le vouloit gratifier d'un tableau, son inscription est toute faite:

Bellum ingens geret Italia populosque
feroces contundet. (p.442)

Armand de Gontaud, the Maréchal de Biron, had two devises:

Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.

C'est la louange de Fabius Maximus que le Poète Ennius luy a le premier donnée, & que Virgile a canonisée dans le 6 de l'Eneide. Que si les Gascons ne la treuvent pas assez bravache pour le Maréchal de Biron, baillons-luy celle-cy:

Non illi quisquam se impune tulisset obvius armato.

Monsieur le Cardinal en fera le choix; c'est le digne arbitre des honneurs. (p.446)

The Maréchal d'Aumont, who did not figure in the final choice was described as:

le parangon des bons François. S'il n'y a pas assez de place pour luy mettre un tableau, il luy faut dresser une Statuë...

Donnons a ce Maréchal pour devise:

Vicit amor patriae. (p.447)

That this manuscript contained only a tentative list of devises, perhaps the one drawn up by Bourbon can also be shown by the fact that in at least one case, the portrait of Gaucher de Châtillon painted by Vouet, the suggested devise was not used:

Gautier, ou Gaucher de Chastillon, Connétable sous
Philippe le Bel environ 1300, à cause de sa vertu
militaire particuliere & come (sic) attaché à ceux
de ce nom, aura pour Eloge:

Genus insuperabile bello. 1

In fact, the inscription on the painting, which is one of the few from the gallery to survive, and which is now in the Louvre, is much longer:

Dictus scaeva sed hoc vitii malè congruit illi nomen
nemo magis dexter ad arma fuit. 2

Another manuscript³ in the Bibliothèque de l'Institut contains suggestions for the emblems which were to surround each portrait, but again it does not appear to give the final choice. Marie de Médicis, for instance, is here given:

Un grenadier avec cinq grenades.
Habet Rutelos diademate patus.

The emblem of a pomegranate tree bearing five fruits was indeed used, but the inscription was slightly changed:

Fulgent diademate partus.
(Engraving by Bigon, reproduced by Thuillier, p.27.)

This was one of four such emblems to enrich the portrait. The suggested emblem for Richelieu was used without alteration:

Un oeillet incarnat meslé de blanc.
Candorem purpura servat.

It again was only one of four emblems.

As we have seen, the overriding emphasis in this gallery was on the rôle of the warrior in his service to the crown. In the seventeenth

1. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 4127, Recueil Conrart, vol.22, p.439.
2. Crelly, The Painting of Simon Vouet, New Haven, 1962, p.197, no.103.
3. Bibliothèque de l'Institut, Ms. 623, fo.162v.

century the educated classes received a grounding in the classics which imbued them with a predominantly backward-looking culture, and they subscribed to a view which regarded the military life as the only possible occupation for a gentleman. In literature, therefore, a predilection for mythology and allegory went hand in hand with the survival of the theme of military prowess and the heroic stature of the soldier. If this were true for literature, it was no less so for the other arts, and that Richelieu endorsed these sentiments is certain. He had originally been destined for the army, and as a young man had spent some time in the academy which was run by Pluvinel, the famous horseman. He never forgot his skills learnt there and he later seems to have taken pleasure in displaying them when on military campaigns. Richelieu's portrait in this gallery which shows him standing and not seated, as would be normal for a churchman, emphasises the rôle of statesman/warrior which he felt he fulfilled.

After Richelieu's death, another gallery was planned with a series of paintings designed to glorify Richelieu's memory and the military and political events of Louis XIII's reign. Vouet executed the decoration for Pierre Séguier, garde des sceaux and chancellor of France. Born in 1588 Séguier came from a relatively modest parliamentary family which originated in the Bourbonnais. An early protégé of Richelieu's, he became président à mortier in 1624 when his uncle Antoine resigned in his favour and in 1633 he was made garde des sceaux. At the end of the same year he bought the stone-and-brick house which had previously been owned by the duc de Bellegarde, in the Saint-Eustache district of Paris. Séguier made other purchases to enlarge his new property and employed Vouet for much of the decoration.¹

1. Hauteceur, Histoire de l'Architecture classique en France, 1966, vol.1 (3), pp.157-159.

The two galleries of the house, one on top of the other, faced on both sides on to the two gardens. The upper room contained Séguier's library.¹ The ceiling of this room was decorated with painted fables which seem to have referred to the spiritual and artistic interests of the chancellor, to religion, justice, literature, eloquence and the arts, all appropriate enough references in a room frequently used as the meeting place of the new Académie Française.²

The lower gallery where meetings took place in summer was also decorated by Vouet; he was employed on this work at the time of his death, when Sauval says that it was still incomplete.³ The ceiling was covered with a series of mythological paintings of which there must have been at least thirteen, although Sauval only describes ten of them:

si je n'ai point parlé du dixième & du onzième tableau,

1. Reputed to be one of the best in Paris, the chancellor freely allowed scholars to use it. Kerviler, Séguier's biographer, quotes from the Rymaille sur les plus célèbres bibliothèques de Paris, published in 1649:

La Bibliothèque royal
Pour tout le monde est doctrinale,
A celle de Séguier chancelier
Pauvre et riche y vont estudier.

(Kerviler, Le Chancelier Pierre Séguier, 1874, p.158.)

2. Séguier had belonged to the Academy since 3 January 1635 when he was elected as the thirty-sixth member; at the end of that month, as garde des sceaux, he affixed the seal to the letters patent by which the Academy was formally established, though these were not registered by parliament for another two years. Séguier let it be known, on Richelieu's death, that he wished to become protecteur of the Academy, and on 9 December 1642 a delegation was sent with such an invitation. Meetings had been held previously in other members' houses, but from mid-February 1643 until the chancellor's death in 1672 meetings were always held in the Hôtel de Séguier.

(Les assemblées) se font en hiver dans la salle haute,
en été dans la salle basse de l'hôtel Séguier, et sans
beaucoup de cérémonie.

Quant le Protecteur s'y trouve, il se met à la place
du Directeur... Il recueille les voix, et prononce
les délibérations lui-même. Le Cardinal n'y entra
jamais; mais M. le Chancelier y assiste souvent, et
fait tout ce que je viens de dire.

(Pellisson and d'Olivet, Histoire de l'Académie Française, 1858,
vol.1, p.70.)

3. Sauval, Histoire et recherches des Antiquités de la ville de Paris, 1724, vol.2, pp.196-197.

& même si je ne dis rien du treizième, ni des autres, c'est que Vouet ne les a pas peints, & que pour lors il vint à mourir.

Sauval implies that Séguier himself chose the programme which referred to the great events of Louis XIII's reign under Richelieu's ministry. The Cardinal had been dead for about six years when this gallery was painted, and Séguier himself had been appointed to the chancellorship more than ten years previously, in December 1635. As supreme head of the judiciary his own public position was secure, as Antoine le Maistre made clear in his address to the Grand Conseil on the occasion of Séguier's appointment.¹ It is perhaps therefore surprising that he should have wanted to glorify his patron's memory in this way, particularly since Richelieu's popularity had certainly not increased since his death. However, Séguier owed his powerful position to Richelieu and the two families were also connected by marriage, as Séguier's daughter Marie had become the wife of the Marquis de Coislin, son of the Baron de Pontchâteau who was one of Richelieu's first cousins. The wedding took place on 5 February 1634.²

The paintings of the gallery reflected in addition a certain prestige upon Séguier as, dealing as they did with Richelieu's public life only, and demonstrating his rôle as a servant of the crown, Séguier's own position as a high state official was subtly mirrored. The paintings were entirely mythological and allegorical, and no specific

1. "Il semble que nos rois n'ont pas moins travaillé à former le chancelier, que Dieu fit à créer l'homme au commencement du monde. Ils ont voulu qu'il ne fût pas seulement l'image du prince, dont il est le premier magistrat, mais encore de toutes les cours souveraines, dont il est le chef."

Kerviler, Le Chancelier Pierre Séguier, 1874, p.67.

2. Richelieu's present to the bride was a set of magnificent pearls: dignes de l'affection que j'ay pour M. le garde des sceaux.

It was Lopez who supplied them and Richelieu instructed him that that they should be of the finest quality. Avenel, Lettres, vol.4, p.509.

reference was allowed to intrude in the way that Rubens, for instance, had presented Marie de Médicis' life history. Indeed, it would hardly have been tactful to do so, as the distancing of events provided by the mythological level of the paintings made such references as Richelieu's ability to deal with an unruly nobility in the painting of the Défaite des Titans much more discreet at a time when the disorders of the Fronde underlined the royal family's present inefficacy.

Sauval's description of the paintings, now known only through a set of engravings made by Dorigny (one of Vouet's sons-in-law) in 1651, gives the meaning of each picture in addition to its ostensible subject.

Dans le premier tableau on voit la France qui prie les Dieux assemblés, de lui donner un Ministre.

Dans le second, Louis le Juste dispose du gouvernement de son Royaume en faveur du Cardinal de Richelieu, et ce choix est figuré sous la fable de Jupiter qui abandonne à Apollon la conduite du chariot de la lumiere.

Dans le troisième Neptune donnant Thetis en mariage à Pelée, représente la surintendance de la navigation, et de la marine, confié par le Roi à son premier Ministre.

Les Titans défaits, sont peints dans le tableau suivant, et nous instruisent du succès qu'eut l'entreprise des Grands Seigneurs qui s'opposaient à l'élévation, et au ministere de ce grand homme.

Les Anglois chassés de l'isle de Ré, sont déguisés dans celui d'après sous la mort de Niobé, et de ses enfans, qu'Apollon et Diane firent perir à coups de fleches.

Le suivant, sous la fable d'Apollon victorieux du serpent Python, qui infectoit tout le Pays de la puanteur de son haleine, est cachée l'heresie domptée, et la prise de la Rochelle.

Au septième, l'hydre vaincue par Hercule et Yolaüs, exprime la reduction du Languedoc, qui achèva d'abatre le parti des Huguenots.

Calaïs et Zaëtes chassans les harpies qui tourmentoient Phinée, nous apprenent le secours, et la guerre que le Roi porta en Italie contre la Maison d'Autriche.

Marsyas écorché par Apollon, représente la Lorraine conquise, et le Duc Charles arrêté.

Enfin l'Amour débrouillant le cahos qu'on voit dans le douzième tableau, decouvre le dessein du Roi, et de son Ministre de donner la paix à toute la Chretienté. 1

1. Sauval, Histoire et recherches des Antiquités de la ville de Paris, 1724, vol.2, p.197.

Unlike Rubens' series of paintings for Marie de Médicis where the Queen is represented both in factual and allegorical guise, Richelieu is here nowhere depicted in person. Some of the imagery, too, used in relation to Richelieu, was not novel. In 1633 Chapelain published a long laudatory poem in Richelieu's honour which included the verse:

Ils chantent les riches trophées.
Des dépouilles de nos matins,
Quand de nos troubles intestins
Les flammes furent étouffées;
Quand la révolte dans son fort
Par une affreuse et longue mort
Paya si chèrement l'usure de ses crimes
Et que ses boulevards enfin assujétis
Contre les appareils des armes légitimes
Implorèrent en vain le secours de Thétis. 1

Vouet's paintings were, nevertheless, well thought out with respect to the delicate problem of depicting an all-powerful minister and churchman when another such cardinal, Mazarin, was at the nadir of his popularity.

Apart from the possibilities offered by the medium of the gallery, symbolical representations of Richelieu were exploited in single paintings. One such, the Liberalité de Titus, painted for the Château de Richelieu by Jacques Stella,² shows Richelieu at the side of the classically draped figure of Louis XIII, a curious and not altogether successful mixture of realism and symbolism. A series of four paintings by Dervet, also for the Château de Richelieu symbolises the Quatre Eléments³ and shows Richelieu involved in court activities and entertainments, such as a fireworks display (Feu), or greeting the royal barge (Eau).

1. Quoted by Brienne, Mémoires, 1916, vol.1, p.242.

2. Now in the Fogg Museum, Harvard.

3. Now in the Musée d'Orléans.

Tallemant des Réaux describes another painting, done for the duc de Roannez in the Château d'Oiron:

le cardinal de Richelieu est peint habillé comme la Fortune, qui donne des canons à un petit grimault qui represente la Meilleraie, une ancre à une espece de gobin, le general des Galeries Pont de Courlay, et les enseignes des Suisses au colonel des Suisses, le marquis de Coislin, autre bossu. Le Duc y est représenté en habit de jardinier beschant la terre. 1

We have seen the use made of emblems in the Galerie des Hommes Illustres, but their decorative uses were not confined solely to the embellishment of portraits with the intention of giving them an added dimension. Emblems are simply small, allusive images employing a pictorial vocabulary dating in many cases from the Middle Ages, when the habit of attributing specific virtues to particular animals or objects was prevalent. Several books were published describing the properties attached to things, and in the sixteenth century a fashion for allegorical illustration resulted in the publication of such influential works as Emblematum Liber, emblèmes latins avec l'interpretation françoise de I. Pierre Joly, (Metz, 1588) by J.J. Boissard, and in 1593 the first edition of Cesare Ripa's Iconologia, whose seven successive editions until 1630 were accompanied by illustrations from which artists drew their models.²

Emblems and their accompanying Latin mottoes were used to illustrate the virtues of a person, or some characteristic of his position. In Richelieu's case, the four emblems surrounding his portrait in the large gallery of the Palais Cardinal underlined his

1. Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes, 1967, vol.1, pp.325-326.

2. For a bibliography of French emblem books see Praz, Studies on Seventeenth Century Imagery, 1939, 2 vols. and Bardon, Le Portrait mythologique à la Cour de France sous Henri IV et Louis XIII, 1974, pp.291-293.

rôle as a minister of the crown:

1. Three fleur-de-lys, Sola mihi redolent.
2. A scarlet and white carnation, Candorem purpura servat.
3. An eagle clutching a thunderbolt, Expertus fidelem Jupiter.
4. A sundial, Nec momentum sine linea.

These were intended to draw attention to the facts of his devotion to the royal image, that his loyalty to church and crown were compatible, of the King's faith in his servant, and of his unceasing activity on behalf of the state.

Occasionally emblems were used by Richelieu as decoration in their own right. At Bois-le-Vicomte for instance, a property owned by the Cardinal until 1636, one of the two small rooms next to the Queen Mother's closet on the second floor was painted with a series of twelve emblems. The emphasis here, too, was on his ministerial virtues. A manuscript description of the château, dated 28 May 1635¹ enumerates these emblems carefully. No artist is mentioned, either here or, indeed, in the description of the rest of the château. The dozen emblem paintings were oval in shape, about the size of a window pane, "admirablement bien invantez, et sortis d'un jugement ingenieux".² The emblems are referred to in Hautecoeur³ who lists the virtues noted in the margin of the manuscript against the description of each emblem, keeping them in the original ablative. The full manuscript description of the emblems with mottoes and marginalia is given in an appendix to this chapter.⁴ The emblems themselves are as follows:

1. A stormy sky with motionless stars
2. A crown of thorns underneath a royal crown
3. The morning star

1. Bibliothèque de l'Institut, Collection Godefroy, vol.221, fo.60ff.
 2. Bibliothèque de l'Institut, Collection Godefroy, vol.221, fo.64r.
 3. Hautecoeur, Histoire de l'Architecture classique en France, 1966, vol.1 (3), pp.794-795.
 4. Pp.188-190.

4. A pebble struck by gunfire
5. A hand stretching out from a cloudy sky, with a honey bee and a grassy hillock
6. An eagle flying above two snakes
7. A cockerel with his red crest between two roaring lions
8. Two winds blowing one on either side of a cardinal's hat
9. A hand reaching out from the clouds and placing a mitre on an upraised head
10. A cardinal's hat above a papal tiara and a royal crown
11. A sun shining in a blue sky with an eagle flying above a sheep and a hare, which it ignores
12. Three columns supporting a circle, a triangle and a square underneath a cardinal's hat.

At the château de Richelieu forty-three emblems were inserted into the panelling of the larger hall on the first floor of the right hand wing, one of the few rooms of the old château to remain virtually untouched in the Cardinal's reconstructions. These emblems related to Richelieu's personal characteristics and virtues, and symbolised in his political life his attitudes, theories and methods.¹ One or two were the same as those at Bois-le-Vicomte: the crown of thorns surmounted by a golden crown with the inscription hac ad illam (placed third at Richelieu and second at Bois-le-Vicomte), the stormy sky with motionless stars and inscribed in motu immotum (thirteenth at Richelieu and first at Bois-le-Vicomte), and the pebble struck by gunfire (twenty-eight at Richelieu and fourth at Bois-le-Vicomte). One, the twenty-seventh at Richelieu, was the same as the fourth of those surrounding the Cardinal's portrait in the Galerie des Hommes Illustres which showed a sundial and the inscription nec momentum sine linea, and another, the thirty-eighth at Richelieu, closely resembled the reverse side of a medal struck in 1634 which showed a

1. Vignier, Le Chasteau de Richelieu, Saumur, 1676, pp.84-90.

ship in harbour, with a cross on its red sails.¹ At Richelieu, the motto was hinc tuta, while the medal had hoc duce tuta as its inscription. Indeed, as was noted on the Clairambault manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale which was mentioned in the last chapter,² underneath a medal struck in 1636:

On prend souvent un vaisseau sur la mer pour Corps
des devises faictes a l'honneur de ce Card.^{al} a
cause de sa Charge d'admiral qu'il possedoit soubz
le nom de Surintendant du commerce et navigation
de france. 3

In the case of this particular medal, the motto was mens immotu regit. The same motto was used for an emblem of a ship in rough seas, drawn in the same manuscript, fo.83v.

Some of the emblems at Richelieu appeared elsewhere in a slightly different form, but since, as we have seen, emblematic references were intended to be instantly recognisable to the educated, this is not surprising. The fourteenth emblem at Richelieu which showed a small dog barking at a lion (with the motto haec fortibus ultio sola) is similar to the one which was put on the reverse of a medal struck in 1643 after Richelieu's death, designed to commemorate the capture and execution of the two main figures in the last great plot of the reign, de Thou and the royal favourite, Cinq-Mars. The medal had two small dogs barking at a lion, and the motto was Potentior hostibus aeger.⁴ The reference to a magnetic needle was also used more than once. At Richelieu the sixteenth emblem consisted of a magnetic needle stuck into a map in a storm-ridden ship. The motto was Vel irato mari aspicit unam. A medal struck in 1639 used a hand holding a magnetic needle which was drawing a compass towards

1. Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Clairambault, vol.1135, fo.84r.

2. P.139.

3. Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Clairambault, vol.1135, fo.84r.

4. Ibid., fo.85v.

it, with the motto Quocunque voles.¹

It was also possible to reconstruct in a satirical fashion emblems which had originally had an encomiastic intention. Mathieu de Morgues, the abbé de Saint-Germain, was to do this brilliantly. Born in 1582, he had been employed as a preacher by Marguerite de Valois, but joined Marie de Médicis' service in 1618 and was formally appointed her preacher two years later. Richelieu made extensive use of his gifts as a polemicist, and Morgues wrote several pamphlets on behalf of the Queen Mother and the Cardinal, particularly the Advis d'un théologien sans passion which appeared in 1627, answering attacks on Richelieu. However, in 1631 Richelieu quarrelled with his former protectress and Marie de Médicis was forced into exile following the so-called Journée des Dupes, living the rest of her life in Brussels and England (where her daughter was married to King Charles I) and finally dying in Cologne in July 1642 in great poverty. Morgues remained faithful to her in her exile and began that series of virulent attacks on Richelieu which were to harass him for the rest of his life.²

Having been a member of Richelieu's circle for over ten years, Morgues was in a position to know a great deal about his private life, and he used such information tellingly in his pamphlets. In one such pamphlet entitled the Catolicon François, ou plaintes de deux chasteaux, rapportées par Renaudot, Maistre du Bureau d'Adresse (included in the Pièces curieuses en suite de celles du sieur de S. Germain, published collectively in Anvers, 1643), Morgues gives just such a satirical explanation of emblems which had first appeared on medals in Richelieu's honour. Guillaume Dupré's medal of 1627 had

1. Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Clairambault, vol.1135, fo.84v.

2. For a list of Morgues' publication, see Deloche, La Maison du Cardinal de Richelieu, 1912, p.45.

an emblem of two hands making a laurel wreath, with Ex operae gloria (or Ex opere gloriam on the silver version) as the motto. This emblem with Ex opere gloriam as the motto also appeared in the old hall at Richelieu as the fortieth emblem, and it was obviously well known. Morgues refers scathingly to the piece of cord which is being used to tie the wreath together:

Je ne sçay de quelle façon tu veux entendre ceste derniere, où tes Medallistes font sortir ces deux mains des nuages celestes; dont l'une tient une Couronne de laurier, & l'autre tient une corde, te disant, Ex opere gloriam. Et peut estre sont-ils assez malitieux pour te faire sçavoir couvertement, qu'un jour le Ciel ne pouvant plus souffrir l'horreur de tes crimes, te fera present d'une corde pour couronner les travaux de ta vie: Retribution digne de la gloire que tes bonnes oeuvres t'auront acquis: Ainsi verrons-nous finir heureusement les actes de ta Comedie, sans aller à l'Hostel de Bourgoigne. 1

Another medal by Jean Warin dated 1631, although assigned to 1635 in the Clairambault manuscript (fo.84r), has an emblem of an angel turning the firmament around the globe. The circle representing day and night which the angel is manipulating is larger on the side which contains the stars. The inscription is Mens sidera volvit. Morgues maintains that the emblem is apt except in one detail: the figure should not be of an angel:

...car ton esprit, non celeste, mais diabolique, & tes intelligences avec les ennemis de Dieu, & de l'Eglise, ne cesseront jamais d'agiter, broüiller, & mettre la confusion dedans cet Univers, & ne luy donneront aucun repos, tant que la violence de leur mouvement ait renversé le Ciel & la terre, à quoy tu ne perds pas une heure de temps. 2

A medal struck in 1638 (Clairambault ms. fo.84v) shows a tower surrounded by a few buildings beside the sea. A sailing ship is close by. The legend on the medal is Paret Utrumque. The same emblem, dated 1631 and with the inscription Nunquam nisi hoc duce tuta,

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1. Morgues, Catolicon François, p.51.
 2. Ibid., p.44.

is satirised by Morgues:

Je sçay que ce flambeau te represente tousjours
brulant & plein de feu; & ceste Tour celles de la
Bastille, du Bois de Vincennes, & des autres
prisons, & ce vaisseau la pauvre France, où tu n'as
oublié que de mettre le Chevalier du Guet, comme un
Comite de Galere. Et si tu veux que j'explique
ces paroles...c'est que tu ne dormiras jamais de
bon somme, tant que le Chevalier du Guet ait remply
toutes ces prisons, non pas un à un; mais par
batelées, & des plus gens de bien, & plus courageux,
qui te pourroient donner eschec & mat, & faire
cognoistre au Roy tes mal-heureux desseins contre
son Estat, & sa propre personne. 1

Morgues also twists the meaning around for a medal struck in 1630,
which showed a figure in a chariot drawn by four horses, the charioteer
being a small angel from whose trumpet hangs a banner with Richelieu's
arms. Morgues calls the horses:

...tes quatre Vertus Cardinales, la cruauté,
l'ambition, l'injustice, & l'ingratitude. 2

The medal which was made to commemorate the founding of the new build-
ings of the Sorbonne, and an example of which was enclosed in the
foundations, had the figure of an old woman representing the Sorbonne,
her left hand on a copy of the Bible, and her right hand touching the
figure of Time. The inscription was Huic sorte bona senescebam:

...vanité insupportable, de te vouloir attribuer
l'honneur & la despense de ce bastiment, comme si
tu avois tiré l'argent de la bourse de ton grand
Pere, & non de celle du Roy, de la sueur & du sang
de ses pauvres sujets. 3

With all this invective, it is only fitting that a medal should have
been made on Richelieu's behalf against Mathieu de Morgues. Dated
1637 in the Clairambault manuscript, it has Richelieu's arms on one
side, and on the other the emblem of a dog barking at the sun. The
inscription is in Spanish: Ladre me el perro y no me muerda, and

1. Morgues, Catolicon François, p.46.

2. Ibid., p.42.

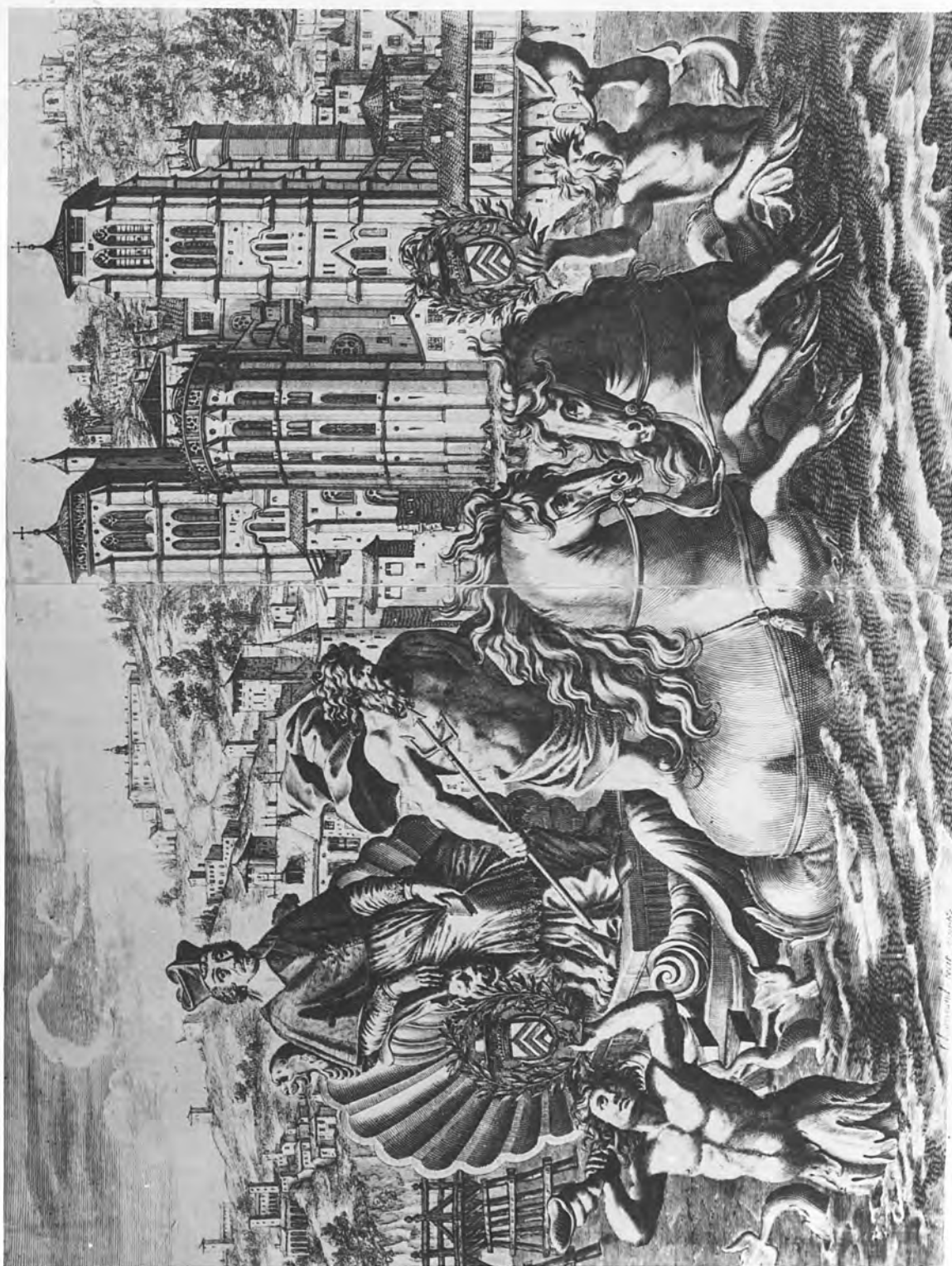
3. Ibid., p.43.

the compiler of the manuscript list, possibly Richelieu's secretary Le Masle, added a note at the bottom to the effect that the emblem was intended to designate the abbé de St. Germain who had followed the Queen Marie de Médicis to Flanders, and who inveighed against the Cardinal "dans ses escrits et dans ses discours".¹

Engravings designed to celebrate some event of Richelieu's political or personal life also frequently displayed a symbolic character. In March 1627 Richelieu was appointed surintendant général de la navigation et du commerce. Several engravings of the time emphasised the obvious mythological connexion with Neptune: one by Cl. Goyrand shows Richelieu sitting in a shell-shaped chariot drawn by Neptune and his horses. Two Tritons hold the Cardinal's arms aloft.² Another engraving has Neptune sharing his empire with Richelieu, holding out pearls and coral for his inspection. An inscription on a sail reads: Nescit cui domino pareat unda maris. An elaborate engraving of Richelieu's arms by Rabel which has anchors at either side of the chevron-inscribed shield, and a shell hanging beneath, where later there would be the cross of the Saint Esprit, includes a Latin motto supplied by Pierre de Montmaur who here signed himself Professeur du Roy. He explains that the spirit of the motto, Pelagi decus addidit armis, was taken from the end of the third book of Lucan.

In 1628 the great siege of La Rochelle took place. Abraham Bosse designed an engraving in which Louis XIII and Richelieu were shown at either end of a galley, cherubs above each holding up their coats of arms. A long poem underneath included the lines:

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1. Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Clairambault, vol. 1135, fo. 84v.
 2. This, and all the following engravings mentioned, are to be found in the Bibliothèque National, Cabinet des Estampes, série Histoire, Qb1, Illustrated overleaf.



Mais, comment la Pleine sallée
 Ne se verroit-elle estonnée
 Voyant sur l'onde un DEMY-DIEU
 Qui a pris pour guider sa flotte
 Un si brave et parfaict Pilotte,
 Qu'il ne peut choir qu'en RICHE-LIEU.

An engraving by Michel Lasne, dedicated to Richelieu, shows Louis XIII on horseback (bottom left) and Richelieu also on horseback on the right, with the words Nec converteris donec deservant coming from his mouth. Fama and Logica, the latter pointing the way through a triumphal arch to a line of tents, stand in the middle against a back-cloth of the town and port of La Rochelle.

The following year the Duc de Savoie and Richelieu made a treaty to succour Cazale. An allegorical engraving shows Mars making peace between two men wearing classical costume. An eagle and a lion are in evidence.

The institution of the Académie Française was the occasion for another engraving by Bosse, showing Richelieu at the centre of a sun, each ray pointing to a star with the name of a member of the Académie. In his history of the Académie, Pellisson explains the origin of this engraving:

Le sieur de La Peyre, en l'année 1635, dédia à cette Compagnie son livre De l'Eclaircissement des Temps, avec ce titre: A l'Eminente, qui a fait croire depuis à plusieurs qu'elle s'appeloit l'Académie Eminente... Ce fut en ce livre que ce bon homme, qui avoit souvent des imaginations fort plaisantes, fit mettre le portrait du Cardinal en taille douce avec une couronne de rayons tout autour, chacun desquels étoit marqué par le nom d'un Académicien. Ce qui est de meilleur, c'est qu'entre ces Académiciens il mit M. de Bautu-Chérelles, qui ne l'étoit pas... 1

An allegory of France triumphant under Louis XIII by Boisseau shows Richelieu, the only unnamed figure apart from the King, standing next to Louis XIII who sits dispensing justice in a tent placed in the

1. Pellisson et d'Olivet, Histoire de l'Académie Française, 1858, vol.1, p.135.

centre of the engraving. Two foreground figures representing Spain and the Empire implore the King for mercy. Another engraving has Richelieu in a similar position beside the King who, with open arms, offers succour and asylum to a figure depicting the oppressed Catalonia.

The list of such allegorical engravings can be much further extended, but since a complete catalogue is beyond the scope of this chapter, we shall mention only one or two more. A series of engravings shows Richelieu holding an orb with three fleur-de-lys in his right hand, while his left hand clasps a chain restraining an eagle and a lion. This engraving by H. David is very similar in spirit to one by Garniere in which the lion and the eagle (representing Spain and the Empire) are chained to a pillar, while Richelieu plucks a caterpillar from a lily. The title sufficiently explains the engraving: Emblème sur l'extirpation de l'heresie et de la Rebellion par les soins du Cardinal de Richelieu.¹

Finally, an interesting engraving shows Richelieu as a model for all the arts.²

Emblems and other such references to Richelieu were not confined to paintings, medals and engravings. An inventory of the Château de Richelieu made in 1788³ mentions several sets of tapestries which had belonged to the Cardinal:

Chambre de Mre. Jean Duplessis, ou de Mgr. le Dauphin.

Huit pièces de tapisserie de Flandre, avec les armoiries de feu Mgr. le Cardinal duc de Richelieu, la d^e. tapisserie en grands personnages. 600 livres.⁴

Chambre de l'alcove.

Quatre pièces de tapisserie à grans personnages avec les armoiries de feu Mgr. Le Cardinal. 330 livres.⁵

1. Cabinet des Estampes, série Histoire QB1.

2. Cabinet des Estampes, série Histoire QB1.

3. Archives Historiques de Poitou, 1901, vol.31.

4. Ibid., p.499.

5. Ibid., p.501.

Chambre de la Reine.

Cinq pièces de tapisserie représentant les
fureurs de Rolland, avec les armoiries de Mgr.
le Cardinal. 330 l. 1

Appartement du no. 20, 2^e étage au-dessus de Moyse,
dit Arlequin.

Six pièces de tapisserie à grans personnages, dont
cinq ont les armoiries de feu Mgr. le Cardinal et
l'autre pièce est la tenture de Rolland. 373 livres. 2

Claude Vignon (1593-1670) painted cartoons for a set of twelve tapestries containing the emblems of Louis XIII and his chief minister.³ It is not clear from the description of the commission by Guillet de Saint-Georges whether the tapestries were ever woven, and certainly there is no reference to such a set in the inventories of either the Palais Cardinal or of the Château de Rueil. As the cartoons were painted shortly before Richelieu's death and given the difficult nature of his succession and estate, it is probable that they were not. The paintings, in any case, passed to the Duchesse d'Aiguillon. Guillet de Saint-Georges relates an incident connected with the execution of these cartoons which reveals one side of Richelieu's character:

(L'ouvrage) étoit presque achevé lorsque M. le Cardinal voulut qu'il fût apporté dans son palais, afin que M. Vignon y travaillât en sa présence et profitât de ses remarques. Un jour S.E. l'étant venu voir accompagné de plusieurs personnes de qualité, elle aperçut une figure qui avoit la bouche ouverte, et voulant sans doute donner une atteinte à quelqu'un de ceux qui le suivoient, elle dit au peintre avec un air mystérieux et d'un ton politique: "Les bouches ouvertes ne me plaisent pas." Sa morale contre les parleurs indiscrets s'étant ainsi expliquée, sous les adroites et ingénieuses apparences d'une simple critique sur cette figure, S.E. s'avança pour voir les autres tableaux, et lorsqu'elle revint sur ses pas, le peintre lui montra la même figure, qui, en trois ou quatre coups de pinceau, avoit la bouche fermée. Ce changement fit sourire M. le Cardinal, qui, avec un air obligeant, frappa sur l'épaule de M. Vignon, lui disant, "Voilà qui est de mon goût, et je vois que nous serons bons amis." 4

1. Archives Historiques de Poitou, 1901, p.503.

2. Ibid., p.517.

3. Inventory, Items 1133-1137.

4. Guillet de Saint-Georges, Mémoires inédits sur la vie et les ouvrages des membres de l'Académie Royale de peinture et de sculpture, 1854, p.271.

The Clairambault manuscript contains a sketch done in red and black crayon enhanced with a little black ink of a tapestry which must have been one of a set. The sketch has been inscribed:

5 pieces de tapisserie 10 pieds de haut six de large
chez laguiaumont (?) tapissier de clergé et de la
Sorbonne rue N. Dame. 1

The main design for the tapestry shows six pillars set on a plinth, with a pediment. The initials AR are set into each corner of the border, and the colours and some of the detail are noted in ink. Inset into the top centre, and covering most of the middle two pillars is a large representation of Richelieu's arms, while underneath, on the level of the plinth is a diamond shaped emblem of a sundial with the motto Nec momentum sine linea that we have seen used before, both at the Château de Richelieu and at the Palais Cardinal as one of the emblems surrounding his portrait in the Gallery. In the background of this sketch, between the pillars, are a tower, a ship and trees and grapes.

In architectural details, too, Richelieu's position was recalled in ways that were not uncommon in the seventeenth century. The initials of Richelieu's name and titles were to be found underneath his coat of arms in the triangular pediment, supported by pillars, of the main court façade of the Château de Richelieu. (I.A.D.P.C.D.D.R.) Not unnaturally, Richelieu's generosity in subsidising the rebuilding of the Sorbonne church and college was commemorated in a similar fashion; his coat of arms was displayed in the triangular pediment above the courtyard entrance to the church, and the frieze bore the words:

ARMANDUS IONNES CARD. DUX RICHELIVS SORBONAE PROVVISOR
AEDIFICIT DOMUM ET EXALTAVIT TEMPLUM S. DOMINO MDCXLII

1. Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Clairambault, vol.1135, fo.83v.

In his description of Paris Brice compared this classical portico to the Pantheon in Rome.¹ The western façade of the church also bore an inscription (now effaced):

DEO OPT. MAX ARMANDUS CARDINALIS DE RICHELIEU.

The main street entrance to the Palais Cardinal also displayed the owner's arms and insignia, together with the inscription Palais Cardinal. When this name had first been put up, grammarians had expressed their views on its impropriety, particularly Guez de Balzac who insisted that Palais du Cardinal could be the only correct title.² Anne d'Autriche changed the name to Palais Royal when the court moved there in 1643, and although the Duchesse d'Aiguillon later had the decision reversed, pointing out the injustice done to her late uncle in the change of name, the palace came to be universally known by its second title.

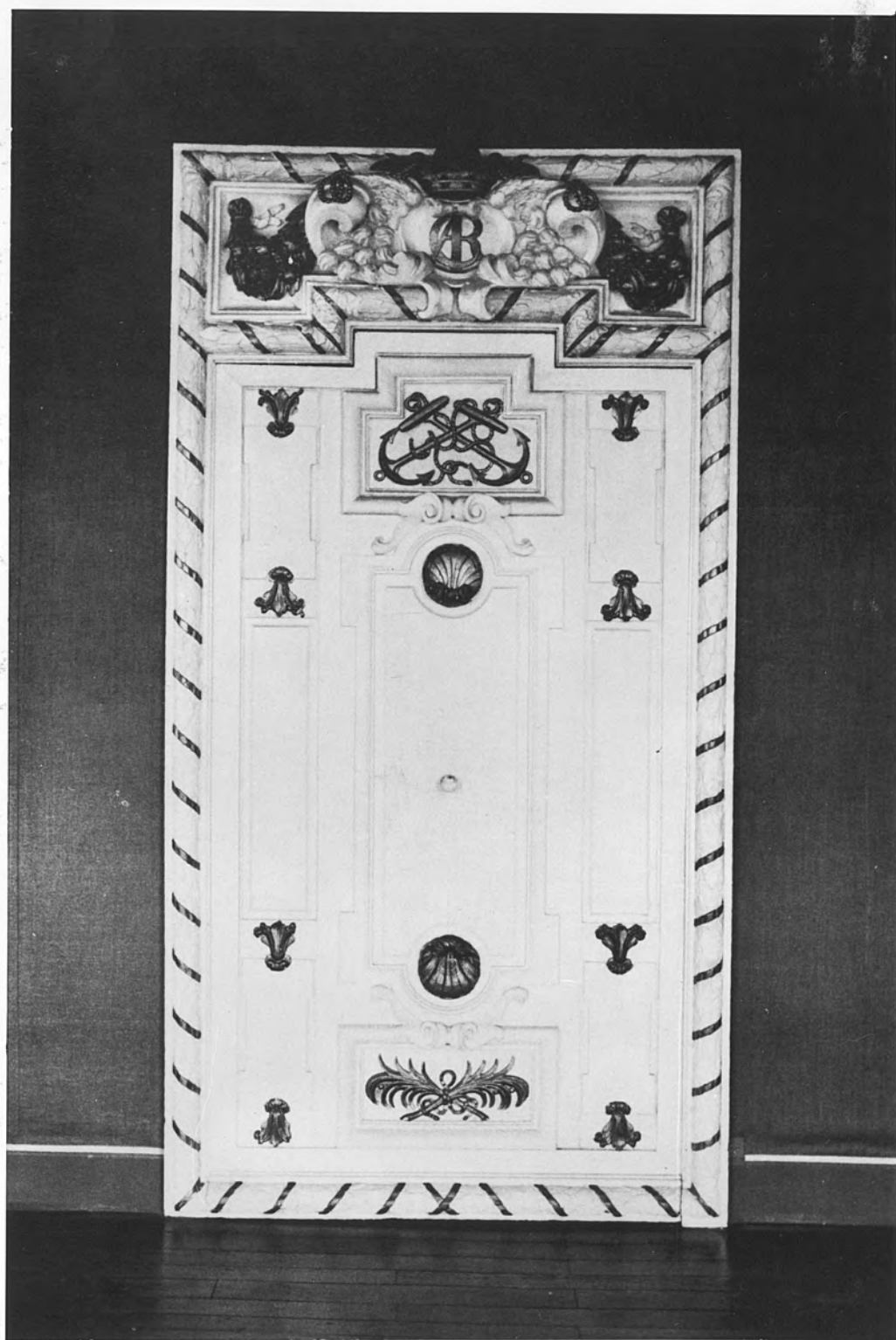
Decorative details both inside and outside the Cardinal's houses also recalled his position. Panels on the walls inside the arcades which bordered the gardens of the Palais Cardinal and which are one of the few details of the original building to remain visible today, displayed anchors, the emblem of Richelieu's naval administration and in the large theatre in the same palace, his arms and insignia were apparent in the moulding immediately above the stage. It seems that Richelieu, who formally donated the palace to the King in 1636, had no intention of allowing the royal family to forget their benefactor. Similar details were incorporated in the Château de Richelieu; doors taken from the château at its demolition and now in the Musée d'Orléans are decorated with anchors and shells, with Richelieu's cipher surmounted by the coronet and cardinal's hat.³ As we have seen, the decoration of the gallery in the same château was completed

1. Brice, Nouvelle Description de la ville de Paris, 1698, vol.2, p.163.

2. Champier, Le Palais Royal, 1900, pp.107-108.

3. Reproduced overleaf.

with the name "Bourgeois" on



The door is made of light-colored wood and is decorated with a central panel and a decorative crest at the top. The door is flanked by a decorative border with diagonal stripes. The surrounding wall is dark, and the floor is dark wood.

2. Yellowish-brown wood, with a decorative crest at the top.
3. Reddish-brown wood, with a decorative crest at the top.

with the same decorative details.¹

Other people celebrated their connexion with the Cardinal in architectural or pictorial details in their houses. Alphonse Lopez was a Jew of Moorish origin who had been employed in France since 1604 on diplomatic missions of various kinds, and who had been used particularly by Richelieu both in secret commissions and as an agent in his artistic affairs. In April 1636 he acquired a house in the rue Croix-des-Petits-Champs, and Tallemant maliciously repeats the story that Lopez took great pride in being able to say:

Il y a une quantité immense de cheminées dans mon logis. 2

On Lopez's death in 1649 the house was bought by the Maréchal de La Ferté, when Loret described it as:

Non pas le plus beau de l'Europe,
Mais bien basti, commode et tel
Qu'il peut passer pour un hostel. 3

1. The use of such emblems and personal devices was, of course, common earlier, and was to continue. Two very evident examples, separated by a century and a half, will amply illustrate this. Francois I used his emblem of a salamander in all the châteaux with which he was associated on the Loire. The monumental open spiral staircase at Blois, for instance, which was incorporated in the wing added for the king between 1515-1524, includes the salamander in the sculpture of the ramp. It is also in evidence in a mantelpiece which incorporates the royal fleur-de-lys and a frieze of burning thorns (ronces ard) in the château of La Poissonnière which belonged to the Ronsard family, and which was redecorated by the poet's father in 1515 in the renaissance style.

The second example of the widespread use of a personal device in architectural details is to be found at the château of Vaux-le-Vicomte, built for Fouquet from 1656-1661. Fouquet's squirrel (fouquet means a squirrel in the dialect of Anjou) was incorporated everywhere at Vaux, but in one interesting case it no longer appears; two tapestries executed for the château on designs by Le Brun in the workshops of Maincy specially set up by Fouquet were subsequently appropriated by Colbert during the surintendant's trial. Colbert had the squirrel removed from the centre of the pieces and replaced with his own emblem of a snake (from the Latin colubra). These two tapestries, the Portières des Renommées are now back at Vaux, hanging in the vestibule.

2. Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes, 1967, vol.1, p.315.

3. Ibid., vol.1, p.992.

In the pediment above the doorway Lopez had had placed various sculptured motifs in Richelieu's honour and Marot engraved the ensemble.¹

The Maréchal de La Meilleraie redecorated some apartments in the Arsenal after his appointment as grand maître de l'artillerie in 1634 and his second marriage to Marie de Cossé in 1637. In one room, paintings of notable events included the scene of the blockade of La Rochelle, a reference to the part played there by his first cousin.²

The final aspect of Richelieu's allegorical iconography which we must consider lies in the engravings which were used either as a frontispiece or as illustrations for works dedicated to the Cardinal. In the seventeenth century writers and men of letters relied for part of their income on the dedication of their books. The use of complimentary dedications was universally widespread, and the language employed was flattering in the extreme to the dedicatee.

Jean Puget de La Serre, a novelist and playwright, put this technique to profitable use and made his living out of dedicating his books to different people, helped no doubt by what Tallemant called his "malheureuse facilité à écrire".³ Born around 1593-4, his publications included a series of eulogies of public men. He wrote the words for the ballet "dansé en l'honneur du Roy au sujet de ses Triomphes" in 1643 and several works which purported to distinguish the parallel between some contemporary and a heroic figure from antiquity. These included:

L'Alexandre ou les Parallèles de Mgr. le duc
d'Anguien avec ce fameux monarque. (Paris 1645)

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1. Hauteceur, Histoire de L'Architecture classique en France, 1966, vol.1 (3), pp.734 and 738.
 2. Crelly, The Painting of Simon Vouet, New Haven, 1962, p.109.
 3. Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes, 1961, vol.2, p.542.

L'Histoire d'Auguste et le parallèle de cet illustre monarque avec nostre grand Roy Louis XIII. (Paris s.d.)

Le Portrait de Scipion l'Africain ou l'Image de la Gloire et de la Vertu, représentée au naturel dans celle de Mgr. le Cardinal duc de Richelieu. (Bordeaux 1641)

As we have already seen, Richelieu was considered by his contemporaries to be over-susceptible to flattery and Tallemant noted an illustrative incident concerning a dedication.

On m'a assuré que dans une epistre liminaire d'un livre qu'on luy desdioit, il avoit rayé héros pour mettre demy-dieu. 1

In addition to the speed with which La Serre turned out his work, Tallemant noted another trait:

Il tenoit pour maxime qu'il ne falloit qu'un beau tiltre et une belle taille-douce. 2

Several engravings appear to be connected with the eulogistic "parallel" which he dedicated to Richelieu.

1. Cabinet des Estampes N.2.978 bis (full length portraits of Richelieu). This engraving shows a statue of Scipio, with two smaller statues between pillars on either side. Scipio holds a spear, and a small oval medallion of Richelieu's head. There are two figures swinging incense and Richelieu's coat of arms is engraved on the base of the statue. At the top of the engraving a cherub blows a trumpet from which hangs a banner bearing the legend Templum honoris. The cherub holds a book entitled Le / Portraict / de Scipion / l'Affricain / ou / Limage / de / la gloire / et de la vertu / represente / dans celle / de / Monseig^r / le Cardinal / duc de / Richelieu. It is signed M.L. (Michel Lasne).

2. Cabinet des Estampes Qb 1 (série Histoire.)

This is the same engraving, but without the angel or inscription.

1. Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes, 1961, vol.1, p.272.

2. Ibid., vol.2, p.542.

Richelieu's arms on the base of the statue have a coronet, which does not appear on the first. It is also signed by Lasne.

3. Cabinet des Estampes Qb 1 (série Histoire.)

In this engraving a statue holds a small portrait of Scipio with the legend Hoc opus naturae underneath it, and a small portrait of Richelieu, entitled Hoc opus intelligentiae. Four figures are chained to the base of the statue; two on the left are old and anguished, the two on the right are young and open-faced. A cherub at the top blows a trumpet with a banner bearing the legend Templum Virtutis, and holds a book entitled Paralleles / de / Scipion / l'Africain / et de / Monseig^r / le Cardinal / duc / de Richelieu / Par le Sieur de / La Serre. The engraving is signed Nicolas Carré fe.

Two further engravings might be connected with this book, or might simply be influenced by the idea.

4. Cabinet des Estampes N.2.978 bis.

A full length portrait of Richelieu facing left, standing near a table, pointing with his right hand to a small statue on the table. A chair, draperies and a window are in the background. Two cherubs blow trumpets decorated with banners bearing Richelieu's coat of arms. The engraving is signed by Michel Lasne. A verse by La Serre is inscribed underneath:

J'admire son esprit, je revere son Nom
L'esclat de sa grandeur mesblouit et m'estonne
Tout le monde est remply, du bruit de son renom
Mais les seules vertus luy servent de Couronne.

5. Cabinet des Estampes N.2.978 bis.

An engraving signed Ioān Picart fecit. It shows Richelieu on the right, a cherub holding palms in a cloud above him, with two classically draped figures on the left, and another, similarly draped, behind whom is a wheel and what looks like a large plank. Two more men, one with a laurel wreath on his head, the other, a warrior,

holding a wreath, are also in the background. The verse which accompanies this engraving is as follows:

Tu vois deux Scipions, tu vois deux Richelieu
Dont la rare vertu n'eut jamais de Seconde
Mais si l'un a cueilly tous les lauriers du monde
L'autre en doit moissonner les palmes dans les Cieux.

Two more allegorical engravings by Michel Lasne seem to have been made for the decoration of theses dedicated to Richelieu. Both were thought by Champier to have been part of the decoration of the small gallery of the Palais Cardinal.¹ The first engraving is taken from a design by Philippe de Champaigne, and shows the Cardinal seated in front of a balustrade, surrounded by allegorical figures. Tony Sauvel has shown that these figures commemorate the occasion on which the domain of Richelieu was erected into a duchy:² one figure is placing the ducal coronet on the Cardinal's head, another shows him the emblems of his new dignity, another holding a sail and a rudder represents la Navigation, and so on. Dorival mentions a note by Mariette in the Notes Manuscrites sur les peintres et les graveurs when he speaks of a:

grande thèse avec la figure du Cl de Richelieu assis
dans un fauteuil accompagné de figures par M. Lasne. 3

The second engraving, which Tony Sauvel also thinks was taken from Champaigne, but which Dorival does not, shows Richelieu sitting in front of a portico, with his hand resting on a globe. A cherub holds out a map of France, to which Richelieu points with his left hand, and above it there is the legend Si qua super fortuna laborum ipse reget. Underneath Richelieu's chair there is the inscription Stante hoc cunctor moventur, and underneath the four female figures in front of

1. Champier, Le Palais Royal, 1900, p.55.

2. Sauvel, Deux oeuvres peu connus de Philippe de Champaigne, Gazette des Beaux Arts, March 1961, pp.181-187.

3. Dorival, Les Portraits gravés d'après Philippe de Champaigne, Gazette des Beaux Arts, p.312.

the Cardinal (representing Prudence, Justice and Strength?) is the inscription Volens facilisque sequetur. Dorival records that there is an inscription in ink on the copy of this engraving in the Cabinet des Estampes, which suggests that it was made to decorate the thesis by Elie du Fresnoy, dated 21 December 1636.¹

avons dict toutes en ordre.

proditus constantia	I	La premiere represente un ciel charge de nuages, et menaçant de tonnerre, qui neantmoins est rempli d'estoilles fixes, Sur lesquelles est ceste devise: <u>In motu immotus</u> . Cela veut dire assez de soy mesme: C'est pourquoy nous les descrivons ainsi, et en laisserons le jugement aux plus subtils, qui les exprimeront selon la diversité de leurs conceptions.
laboribus	II	La seconde demonstre une couronne d'espines placee en terre, et au dessus une autre couronne Royale sur laquelle est ceste devise <u>hanc ad illam</u> .
consilio	III	La troisieme porte l'estoille de iacques qui precede le soleil levant, avec ceste devise: <u>phosphi fax pueris</u> .
iustitia	IV	La quatrieme represente un caillou frappe d'un fusil, et sortant du feu, sur lequel est ceste devise <u>non urit, nisi laesus</u> .
fortitudine	V	La cinquieme fait sortir une main du ciel entouree de nuages, assise sur une motte de terre verdoyante, laquelle est blessée d'une bouche d'acier, qui porte ceste devise: <u>qui laedit a se laeditur</u> (feriendo enim apud percutit seipsum).
animi	VI	La sixieme represente deux serpens (symboles de l'envie) au dessus lesquels

1. Dorival, Les Portraits gravés d'après Philippe de Champaigne, Gazette des Beaux Arts, p.312.

APPENDIX

SEE P.170Description des douze Emblemes, selon leur Ordre.¹

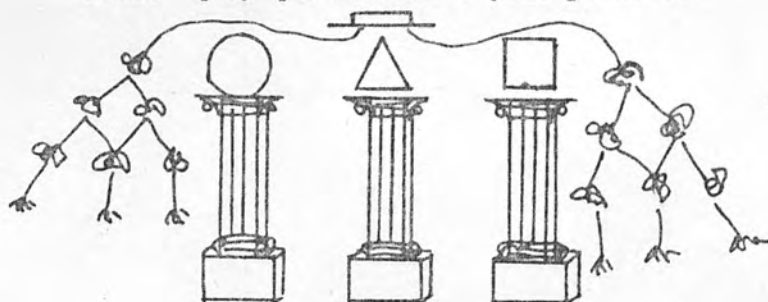
Nous n'avions pas oublié nos tablettes pour soigneusement remarquer ces si rares, et si merveilleuses inventions. Elles sont comme nous avons dict toutes en ovale.

- | | | |
|------------------------|-----|--|
| proditus
constantia | I | La premiere represente un ciel charge de nûages, et menaçant de tonnerre, qui neantmoins est rempli d'estoiles fixes, Sur lesquelles est cette devise: <u>in motu immotum.</u>
Cela sentend assez de soy mesme: Cest pourquoy nous les descrivons nüement, et en laisserons le iugement aux plus subtils, qui les esprimeront selon la diversité de leurs conceptions |
| laboribus | II | La seconde demonstre une couronne d'espines placée en terre, et au dessus une autre couronne Royale sur laquelle est ceste devise <u>hac ad illam</u> |
| consilio | III | La troisieme note lestoile de Lucifer qui praecede le soleil levant, avec ceste devise <u>phoebi fax praemia</u> |
| iustitia | IV | La quatrieme represente un caillou frappé dun fusil, et iettant du feu, sur lequel est ceste devise <u>non urit, nisi laesus</u> |
| fortitudine | V | La cinquieme faict sortir une main du ciel entouré de nüages, assise sur une motte de terre verdoiante, laquelle est blessée d'une mouche à miel, qui porte ceste devise; <u>qui laedit a se laeditur</u> (feriendo enim apes perdunt aculeum) |
| animi | VI | La sixieme represente deux serpents (simboles de l'envie) au dessus desquels |

1. Bibliothèque de l'Institut, Ms. Collection Codefroy, vol.221, fo.65v - 67r.

- magnitudine voltige un aigle, sur laquelle est ceste
devise: non deseret alta
- VII La septieme figure un coq placé dans une
eloquentia plaine, au milieu de deux lions rugissants,
et paroissant beaucoup a cause de sa creste
rouge, sur lequel est ceste devise mea nox
non purpura terret
- VIII La huictiesme represente deux vents, ou
Aquilons eslevez sur des nuages qui
felicitate haleinent
soufflent des deux costez un chapeau de
Cardinal, sur lequel est ceste devise
non occidus, non arcticus uret
- IX La neufviesme montre un bras sortant des
nûes et tenant une mithre ou Papale, ou
divitiis Episcopale, qu'il pose sur un chef eslevé
en l'air, avec ceste devise Iova stant
divite sacra
- X La dixiesme marque un chapeau Rouge de
Cardinal et () duquel () plus bas
utilitate pour ensemble une thiarre Papale, et une
couronne Royale, qui portent cette devise
de vinctus unicret ambas
- XI La onziesme represente un soleil esclatant
dans un ciel azuré qui regarde fixement un
aigle voltigeant au milieu de l'air sous
nobilitate lequel broutent un mouton et un lievre
qu'il semble mespriser par desdain et
tacitement exprimer ceste devise gloria me
non praeda trahit
- XII La douziesme comme difficile à exprimer
sera (a cause de la representation plus
facile a contrefaire) pourtraicte icy par
nous: quoy que nous ne soyons peintres

natura
virtute
et arte
qua sapientia
uno verbo
denotat



Ce sont trois longues colonnes de pierre de marbre sur les quelles sont trois figures, ronde, triangulaire, et quarré que couvre un chapeau de Cardinal qui porte ceste devise: natura, virtute et arte.

Car les philosophes ont tousiours pris la figure circulaire pour la plus parfaite, et naturelle, outre que le monde, ou globe, de soy a telle forme.

La figure triangulaire est le vray symbole de la vertu qui paroist tousiours dans le milieu, ayant le vice a ses deux costes, compris dans ces deux extremittez le (manque) et l'exces le trop et le deffaut. Et enfin la figure quarrée est tout a faict artificielle puisquelle est la plus asseurée et solide dans son assiette et par consequent moins subiecte au changement comme est l'art qui une fois inventé ne se perd iamais.

Voila.

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1. Antiffol, Anteur de Richelieu, 1937, p. 63-64.
 2. Silhan, Le ministre d'Etat, 1639, p. 47, quoted by Deloche, La Maison du Cardinal de Richelieu, 1913, p. 21.

CONCLUSION

We have seen that, from an impoverished though aristocratic background, Richelieu built up his fortune to become one of the richest men of his day. At his death, his total assets were valued at nearly twenty-two and a half million livres, and after debts had been subtracted, his heirs were in possession of an estate worth sixteen million livres.¹ There is no doubt that Richelieu used his wealth to underline and promote his position, and in a pamphlet entitled Le ministre d'Estat the writer, Jean Silhon, under the Cardinal's supervision, made this view clear.

Il est magnifique et despende avec esclat, non pas à cause que naturellement il n'estime point les richesses...mais à cause que la prudence lui ordonne ainsi, et d'autant que les occasions et sa dignité le requièrent. Il ne fait pas pourtant de cette pompeuse dispensation, et de ce superbe usage des richesses qui n'est que pour la monstre et le dehors, la base de son honneur et le fondement de sa gloire.

Richelieu was determined to have tangible assets such as silverplate and precious stones which could be used as collateral should the State's finances be unable to cope with the military demands his political strategies required. He had caches of money in various parts of the country for the same reason. His relatively unpropitious start in life no doubt also influenced the determination he showed later, not only to provide himself with the buffer against physical hardship a sick man might naturally wish to ensure for himself, but to demonstrate in as public a fashion as possible that he could sustain his position and power at the most conspicuous level of wealth and still be immune from unforeseen changes in political fortune.

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1. Batiffol, Autour de Richelieu, 1937, pp.48-49.
 2. Silhon, Le ministre d'Estat, 1639, p.97, quoted by Deloche, La Maison du Cardinal de Richelieu, 1912, p.21.

Apart from his interest in literature (and particularly the theatre¹) and in his love of music², we have found very little evidence that Richelieu appreciated the arts. He never seems to have passed an artistic judgement in his life, although we know that he passed literary ones, and he is not recorded as having aesthetic opinions on any branch of the visual arts except garden design, in which he was seriously interested. He probably never saw more than fleetingly those parts of his collections of paintings and sculptures which were housed in the Château de Richelieu.

Richelieu was intendant to Marie de Médicis while she was building and decorating the Palais de Luxembourg, and many of the artists and craftsmen who worked there were later to be employed by the Cardinal. Salomon de Brosse, the architect of the palace, undertook preliminary work for Richelieu when he was contemplating the purchase of the Château de Limours.³ The artist Nicolas Duchesne did much work for the Queen Mother in the Luxembourg Palace,⁴ and in the

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1. Tallemant repeats this story to illustrate Richelieu's literary leanings. "Un jour qu'il (Richelieu) estoit enfermé avec Desmarestz, que Bautru avoit introduit chez luy, il luy demanda: 'A quoy pensez-vous que je prenne le plus de plaisir?'-'A faire le bonheur de la France,' luy respondit Desmarestz. 'Point du tout,' respliqua-t-il, 'c'est à faire des vers.'" (Tallemant, Historiettes, 1967, vol.1, p.272.)
 2. Aubery wrote that Richelieu kept twelve musicians in his household, "les plus rares de cette profession qui fussent en France, tant pour les instruments que pour les voix. Ils le suivaient partout; on leur fournissait les chevaux pour les voyages et ils étaient défrayés." (Aubery, L'Histoire du Cardinal Duc de Richelieu, 1660, p.613.) In the accounts of Richelieu's household for 1639, published by Deloche, however, only five musicians appear on the payroll. (Deloche, La Maison du Cardinal de Richelieu, 1912, p.548.)
 3. Thuillier and Foucart, Rubens' Life of Marie de' Medici, 1967, p.118.
 4. Richelieu countersigned the contract between various artists, including Duchesne, dated 15 April 1621, for the decoration of the gallery for which Rubens was to produce the major decorative cycle of paintings depicting the life of Marie de Médicis. (Thuillier and Foucart, The Life of Marie de' Medici, 1967, pp.94-5).

process supervised the early careers of Philippe de Champaigne and Nicolas Poussin, both of whom were to be patronised by Richelieu. Duchesne himself, as we have seen, painted the ceiling of the Cardinal's bedroom in what was to become the Palais Cardinal, and also worked for Richelieu at Limours. Although Richelieu might not approve Rubens' political activities, he nevertheless collected paintings by the artist, owning three in the Palais Cardinal and others at Richelieu, even buying one from the sale of paintings held after Rubens' death in 1641. Jean Le Maire, who decorated part of the Hôtel du Petit-Luxembourg while it belonged to Marie de Médicis, who subsequently donated it to Richelieu, was to produce the famous trompe l'oeil arch for the Cardinal in the gardens of Rueil and painted the larger theatre in the Palais Cardinal. The sculptor Berthelot was commissioned by the Queen Mother in 1622 to make eight statues of famous women for her palace,¹ and he later provided statues for the Château de Richelieu, including a bronze Renommée and a marble statue of Louis XIII as Mars.

Richelieu could afford to employ the best artists available and he did so. Whenever artists of repute returned to France from abroad, such as Stella, Vouet or Poussin, Richelieu never failed to give them commissions. We have seen from a study of the inventories, however, that Richelieu differentiated between the settings of his public and his private lives. The appartements, theatres and galleries that were seen by the public in the Palais Cardinal were furnished much more lavishly than his own private rooms. The Château de Rueil, on the other hand, which he preferred for the privacy it afforded, was considerably simpler in conception.

The way in which Richelieu used his iconography, in the careful

1. Thuillier and Foucart, The Life of Marie de' Medici, 1967, p.104.

placing of his portraits and references to himself, strengthen the view that he felt he owed it to his dignity to keep the public constantly reminded of his position. It was, of course, normal for the owner of a house to have his portrait there, and we have seen at Limours that Marie de Médicis considered that the fact that Richelieu's portrait was not in evidence there detracted considerably from its lustre.¹ A portrait by Champaigne which was destined for the Sorbonne² hung in the Cardinal's antechamber in the Palais Cardinal, and two busts were placed in a part of the palace where they would have been most easily seen by the public, the marble by Bernini in the "Petit cabinet de passage pour aller à l'appartement vert"³ where it would have been seen by anyone going to the small gallery or the appartement vert, and a bronze by Warin which was in the "cabinet de la chambre verte".⁴ The portrait by Champaigne in the Galerie des Hommes Illustres was placed such that it was the first to be seen on entering the gallery by the principal doorway. The five ceiling paintings in the small gallery, which all referred to aspects of Richelieu's life and policies, dominated the room to such an extent that Anne d'Autriche had them removed when the palace came into royal possession. The themes from antiquity chosen by Richelieu as decorations for other parts of the palace, particularly the lives of Moses and Hercules, were also generally held to be references to his own place in history.

At the Château de Richelieu we find the same preoccupation with the insistence on underlining the parallels between contemporary events and their equivalent in ancient history. Nowhere is this more carefully worked out than in the long gallery where a contemporary

1. See pp. 117-118.

2. Inventory, Item 1098(bis).

3. Inventory, Item 1277.

4. Inventory, Item 1276(bis).

siege or battle was matched to its Greek or Roman equivalent, and an added layer of significance was introduced in the ceiling paintings from the Odyssean legend.

We find nothing of this kind of reference to Richelieu's historical importance at Rueil nor, as far as we know, at Limours. At Bois-le-Vicomte there was a series of emblems relating to the Cardinal's ministerial virtues and another, longer, series of emblems was inserted into the old hall at Richelieu, a room retained from the Château as Richelieu would have known it in his youth.

As we have seen, however, in the chapter on Richelieu's gardens, the Cardinal seems to have been dependent on gardens and country properties in which he could escape from the noise and distractions of town life. In his early days at Luçon he complained of the lack of a garden and nowhere to walk, "de façon que j'ay ma maison pour prison".¹ He had probably appreciated the elegant Italian gardens while he was in Rome in 1607, and mentioned in his Mémoires the gardens which Marie de Médicis was having constructed for the Luxembourg Palace, based on the famous Boboli gardens, during the time when he was her intendant. Richelieu certainly preferred to be in the country whenever possible, writing on one occasion that "L'air de la compagne m'a soulagé",² and on another, just after the purchase of the Château de Limours, "Je vous envye le contentement que vous avez d'estre aux champs, quoyque nous y soyons maintenant".³ When the Court was at Fontainebleau, Richelieu for many years would stay at Fleury and, whenever it was possible, he went to Rueil. Just before he died he was determined to spend some of the winter there, even though he was discouraged from doing so:

1. Avenel, Lettres, vol.1, p.24.

2. Ibid., vol.4, p.566.

3. Ibid., vol.7, p.525.

Force gens me desconseillent d'aller à Ruel passer l'hiver, dans un autre logis que le mien. Pour moy, je me desconseille de le passer tout-à-fait à Paris, et prends resolution de le partager entre Paris et Ruel. 1

Richelieu's delight with the acquisition of Limours was soon mitigated and, according to Gaston d'Orléans, to whom Richelieu sold the property, the Cardinal wanted rid of it because he found the spot unhealthy, and there were no fountains in the gardens.² It was true that Richelieu enjoyed the conceits admired in the seventeenth century for the embellishment of gardens, and at Rueil he had constructed grottoes, fountains and one of those devices which sprinkled water over the unsuspecting passer-by. At Rueil, too, he had planted the horse-chestnuts which were later to be called "les cardinaux", and was proud of the wine produced from the muscatel grapes which were introduced there from Frontignac at his request. Richelieu disliked the thought of cutting down trees and at Richelieu asked that the regular felling of trees in a newly acquired stretch of wood should be reduced to every nine years, even though it was pointed out to him that a great deal of wood was required for the construction of the town and the château, and that it would inevitably be cheaper if it were available near at hand.³ Richelieu's interest in gardens extended to the possibility that he did some practical gardening himself, as there were silver tools with his arms engraved on them at Rueil, and there were several manuals on gardening in his library.⁴

So Richelieu's interest in the arts falls into two distinct fields. His private tastes were much simpler than what might be

1. Avenel, *Lettres*, vol.7, p.143.

2. Gaston d'Orléans, *Mémoires*, 1842, p.74.

3. Avenel, *Lettres*, vol.4, p.477; vol.6, p.4.

4. *Inventory*, Items 1750, 1751.

Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms.

termed his public patronage of the arts, which was on a deliberately expansive scale, designed to underline and comment on his public position, political strategies and place in history. Mythology and historical reference in paintings, decorative schemes, emblems and engravings were used to promote this image; the subtle adoption of the standing pose for his portraits d'apparat (a pose hitherto normally reserved for princes and statesmen who were not at the same time churchmen) emphasised his political rôle at the expense of his ecclesiastical office. His immense wealth was used to amass collections of sculpture, paintings and objets d'art which would not have shamed one of the great Italian prince-patrons. His building projects over a period of twenty years were incessant and obsessional. He bought, enlarged, rebuilt and built small town houses, country manors and mansions, châteaux, a palace, even a complete, if unsuccessful, new town. If we consider that Richelieu's interest in the arts during these years of power can scarcely have taken precedence over more pressing political matters, we have to draw the only conclusion possible, and admit that his interest lay largely, if not wholly, in their application to the enhancement of his public image.

members of the administration or the government, personally recorded into Richelieu's private ministry of the arts. He simply used what was available.

Of most of these events we know little. One such was Perrin, of Piedmontese origin, known as *le grand Perrin* and was employed as *trésorier*, *grand trésorier* & *comptable*, *secrétaire*, *maître de requêtes*. He was employed by Richelieu for political activities, he was also expected to look out for additions suitable for the Cardinal's collections. He was from Mazarin's circle, as were the two Italian painters and

1. *Grandes et Petites*, 1701, p. 101.
2. *Annales*, *lettres*, vol. 4, p. 101, etc.

APPENDIX

RICHELIEU'S AGENTS

Some questions closely related to the subject of this thesis, but which are beyond its scope, are nevertheless worth pinpointing. Two queries concern, firstly, the manner in which Richelieu amassed his collections and, secondly, the people he entrusted both with these acquisitions and with the supervision of his building projects. Although he was himself deeply involved in the construction and decoration of his châteaux, it was clearly impossible for him to give the constant, personal direction which was required.

Richelieu did not use specific people simply as artistic agents or advisers. A man sent on a political mission might also be asked to buy tapestries or precious objects, while another who happened to be conveniently placed might be requested to oversee work in progress on a château, or convey Richelieu's wishes concerning some part of its decoration to those on the spot. Not surprisingly, many of these agents were churchmen, some of them highly placed ecclesiastical colleagues of the Cardinal. Others were foreigners and some were members of the administration or the government, temporarily seconded into Richelieu's private ministry of the arts. He simply used whoever was available.

Of some of these agents we know little. One such was Mondini, of Piedmontese origin, known in France as the Abbé Mondain and described as "fin et rusé, grand Mercadan à troquer, acheter, vendre & revendre".¹ Used by Richelieu for political activities,² he was also expected to look out for additions suitable for the Cardinal's collections. He was from Mazarin's circle, as were the two bankers Cantarini and

1. *Naudaeana et Patiniana*, 1701, p.101.

2. Avenel, *Lettres*, vol.6, p.419, etc.

Serantoni, who were similarly employed by Richelieu.¹

Although Richelieu's use of agents does not belong to the formal subject defined by the title of this thesis, it does not seem inappropriate, for the sake of convenience, to append notes on the help received by Richelieu from colleagues, subordinates and employees, as attested by the major secondary sources on which it has been possible to draw, since the information has not hitherto been brought together.

Alphonse Lopez (1572- 1649)

Born in Spain of Jewish extraction, Lopez came to France in 1604 in connexion with a secret treaty which was to be made between France and his co-religious compatriots. He remained in France, made his fortune by buying and selling diamonds and precious stones and became known throughout the Court as a dealer in objets d'art, tapestries and other valuable items. Richelieu used him both as a source for these things and as an agent in political matters. Lopez was in Holland in 1627-1629, 1635-1638 and 1638-1640, principally to buy ships and munitions for the French navy, but taking the opportunity to supply eager French courtiers with eastern curiosities, clocks, fine linen and tapestries.² Richelieu employed him as the intermediary when he presented the Prince of Orange with his portrait.³

The pearls Richelieu gave Séguier's daughter as a wedding present were bought from Lopez,⁴ as was the large heart-shaped diamond

1. Boislisle, Les Collections de sculptures du Cardinal de Richelieu, Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France, vol.42, 1882, p.10.

2. Baraude, Alphonse Lopez, 1933, pp.130f.

Je m'occupe de quelques coffres et cabinets de japon et de la Chine. Les prix sont à mon avis les plus avantageux qu'ils soient encore venus en ces quartiers, et je doute que personne en ait de semblables.

3. Ibid., pp.86-87.

4. Avenel, Lettres, vol.4, p.509.

which Richelieu left to the Crown,¹ subsequently known as La Richelieu and which was stolen in 1792. Following Rubens' death in 1640 Lopez was involved in the sale of the artist's paintings, on which occasion Richelieu bought a Diane au Bain. Richelieu also employed Lopez to report on progress in the building of an expanded port and harbour at Le Havre, and particularly at Richelieu, where he was charged with persuading people to have houses built there, to a specified design at their own expense.²

Richelieu made Lopez a conseiller d'Etat in 1638 as recompense for his various missions abroad. Lopez lived in a house in the rue des Petits-Champs which had once belonged to Pierre Payen (who had also owned the Château de Rueil). Over the doorway he placed a stone group of emblems glorifying his patron.³

François Sublet de Noyers (1578 - 1645)

De Noyers was employed in financial administration and became contrôleur-général des finances. He was made secrétaire d'Etat in 1636 and surintendant des bâtiments in 1638, in which capacity he was responsible for the upkeep of the royal palaces and for the maintenance of artistic standards. In this public rôle he combined his austere religious commitment⁴ (he was given special permission in 1636 to take

1. Acte de donation, published by Champier, Le Palais Royal, 1900, p.39.
2. Dumolin, La Construction de la ville de Richelieu, Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, 3e série, vol.10, pp.533-544. Lopez built a house at Richelieu himself.
3. Hauteceur, Histoire de l'Architecture classique en France, 1966, vol.1 (3), p.738.
4. De Noyers' religious tendencies were noted, with some irony, by Richelieu. Writing to Claude Bouthillier, he hoped that the chancellor would have "foy en certains saints qui sont de longtemps en son moment, ^(sic) c'est-à-dire de croire en ce que luy mande Mr. de Noyers (qui se béatifie tous les jours) sur le sujet des vaisseaux et des galères du Levant." (Avenel, Lettres, vol.6, p.866, letter of 9 September 1641.) Tallemant deplored his displays of sanctimoniousness: "Sa cagotterie parut furieusement en ce qu'il brusla quelques nuditez de grand prix qui estoient à Fontainebleau." (Tallemant des Réaux, vol.1, (1967), p.298.)

Jesuit vows at the moment of death), with a desire to improve the arts in France. He had much to do with Poussin's return to France, though he was incapable of controlling the animosity shown towards Poussin by other French artists, and Poussin's stay in Paris was relatively brief.

Richelieu shared his interest in the public manifestation of the patronage of the arts, but also used him, particularly in the last few months of his life, in more personal matters such as the purchase of an important collection of books which had come on the market,¹ the decoration of the lower chapel in the château de Richelieu,² the possibility of the purchase of a tapestry Richelieu had given Marie de Médicis and which, following her death, was likely to be sold,³ and matters dealing with the construction of the Sorbonne.⁴ De Noyers also seems to have had a hand in the drawing up of Richelieu's will.⁵

In Paris, de Noyers lived in a small house in the rue Saint Honoré, where he commissioned Le Maire to paint a perspective in the courtyard. He consulted Poussin about the decoration of the château de Dangu, which he acquired in 1641. De Noyers was active in his religious patronage, founding and endowing a Carmelite convent at Gisors, endowing a Jesuit house at Lyon and founding the Jesuit Noviciate in Paris whose church was widely regarded as an architectural masterpiece. Vouet and Poussin were commissioned to paint altarpieces for it.⁶

1. Avenel, Lettres, vol.7, pp.57, 68, 90, 91, 97, 105.

2. Ibid., p.149.

3. Ibid., and see pp.153-154. Letter to Chavigny.

4. Ibid., pp.75 and 140.

5. Ranum, Les Créatures de Richelieu, 1966, p.144.

6. Michaud, François Sublet de Noyers, superintendant des bâtiments de France, pp.331-341.

Pompeo Frangipani (? - 1638)

Frangipani was descended from an ancient and noble Roman family. He was at Court during the regency of Marie de Médicis and was made maréchal de camp under Louis XIII. He and his brother, grandsons of Murtio Frangipani who had come to France after Catherine de Médicis had married Henri II, were reputed to have invented the perfume used for scented gloves, which were known as gants de frangipane.¹ Frangipani was employed in diplomatic negotiations as well as in the army and was killed in action in Italy in 1638: Bassompierre records his friend's death in his *Mémoires*.²

Frangipani was responsible for buying in Italy and despatching a collection of statues for Richelieu.³

Léonor d'Estampes de Valançay
Archbishop of Reims (1589 - 1651)

Léonor d'Estampes de Valançay studied at the Collège de Navarre in Paris, became Bishop of Chartres in 1620 and was appointed Archbishop of Reims in 1641. A prodigious eater and spender, he was also interested in the fine arts and employed Jean Mosnier and Claude Vignon to decorate the episcopal palace at Chartres,⁴ where he also maintained a magnificent library.

The Archbishop was connected with the building of the Château

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1. The use of perfumes was widespread. See Magendie, La Politesse mondaine et les théories de l'honnêteté, en France, au 17e siècle, s.d., vol.1, pp.45-47.
 2. Bassompierre, Mémoires, vol.2, pp.756-7.
 3. Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, France, vol.249, fo.306v, and vol.808, fo. 163.
 4. Bonnaffé, Dictionnaire des Amateurs au 17e siècle, 1881, p.318.

de Richelieu,¹ and particularly with the construction of the college and church of the Sorbonne.² Richelieu also used him as an intermediary in the purchase of a collection of books which had belonged to M. de Cordes, and which preoccupied Richelieu in the months before his death.³ On occasion the Archbishop acted for Richelieu in other ways, notably in arranging the reception which followed the production of the play Mirame in 1641.⁴

Tallemant's Historiette about the prelate contains some of his less repeatable anecdotes.⁵

Henri d'Escoubleau de Sourdis
Archbishop of Bordeaux (1594 - 1645)

Of an established noble family, Henri de Sourdis started life with the benefit of illustrious godparents - his cousin Gabrielle d'Estrées, the King's mistress and Henri IV himself. He was appointed Bishop of Maillezais in 1623 and Archbishop of Bordeaux in 1629, following the death of his elder brother François, Cardinal de Sourdis. He was in the King's camp at the siege of La Rochelle, and thereafter was charged with the purification of the Eglise Sainte Marguerite, which had been used by the Huguenots. In 1633 he was made a member of the Ordre du Saint Esprit at the same time as Richelieu, and in the same year had a famous quarrel with the eighty year old duc d'Epemon which scandalised the Court. In 1636 he commenced his naval career, having been appointed chef des conseils du roi en l'armée navale. After the French naval defeat off Tarragona Sourdis was disgraced and

1. Avenel, Lettres, vol.6, pp.4-6.

2. Batiffol, Autour de Richelieu, 1937, pp.132-133.

3. See note 1, p.201.

4. Marolles, Mémoires, 1660, p.126.

5. Tallemant, Historiettes, 1967, vol.1, pp.422-432.

sent into exile in 1641, and was only allowed to return to his diocese following Richelieu's death.

Tallemant erroneously believed that Sourdis was at one time Richelieu's intendant.¹ The truth is that, being rather more conveniently placed than the Cardinal, Sourdis supervised the construction and decoration of the Château de Richelieu, and the building of the town, between 1631 and the end of 1633. He kept Richelieu in close touch with the progress of the château and his brother, the marquis de Sourdis et d'Alluye, was also involved in discussions with artists concerning its decoration. Sourdis was concerned with building operations of a defensive nature at Brouage, Le Havre and elsewhere, at Richelieu's instigation.

The correspondance which deals with the naval career of the Archbishop has been published,² but his letters to Richelieu about the Château de Richelieu are to be found in the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères.³

Cardinal Mazarin (1602 - 1661)

Mazarin was introduced to Richelieu in 1628 and a year or two later began to be employed on diplomatic and political missions for France. A connoisseur of the arts and particularly knowledgeable about precious stones,⁴ Mazarin soon became useful to Richelieu in

1. Tallemant, Historiettes, 1967, vol.1, p.376.

2. Correspondance de Henri d'Escoubleau de Sourdis, ed. Eugène Sue, 1839, 3 vols.

3. Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, France, vol.809, fo.43, 131-133, 147.

4. Brienne, Mémoires, 1916, vol.1, p.290. "Il étoit curieux, sans toutefois se connoître parfaitement aux belles choses, excepté les pierreries, auxquelles il se connoissoit en perfection." See also Alcouffe, Les pierreries du Cardinal Mazarin, Burlington Magazine, vol.116, 1974, pp.514-526.

facilitating the acquisition of statues and paintings for his collections. He was finally persuaded by Richelieu to settle in France early in 1640 and was made a cardinal at the end of 1641, principally at Richelieu's instigation. After Richelieu's death Mazarin came to power himself, and despite setbacks at the hands of the frondeurs, he retained his position as premier ministre until he died in 1661.

Mazarin retained a powerful circle of friends in Rome and Richelieu asked Mazarin to influence them when he was trying to induce Italian and expatriate French artists to come to Paris.¹ Richelieu asked Mazarin favours from time to time involving payment for sculptures, finding diamond-studded boxes on which would be set his portrait and other items.² Mazarin showered presents on his benefactor: as the text of a Mazarinade, one of a series of violently satirical pamphlets attacking Mazarin published during the Fronde, put it:

(Mazarin) connoissant l'humeur du cardinal de Richelieu, d'une superbe sans pareille, qui, comme un dieu, ne vouloit pas être abordé les mains vuides, il (Mazarin) employoit tout ce qu'il avoit de pension en achats de présens qu'il lui faisoit. 3

Such presents included antique statues, paintings of the Renaissance period and a gilded vase enriched with coral.⁴

In the inventory of Mazarin's possessions made in 1653, several things connected with Richelieu are mentioned. They include a silver inkstand engraved with Richelieu's arms, tapestries (one of which had decorated the space above a door in the salle des gardes in the Palais Cardinal), an ebony cabinet and a full-length portrait of Richelieu.⁵

1. Avenel, Lettres, vol.6, p.691.

2. Ibid., p.889.

3. Published in the Catalogue of the exhibition, Mazarin, Homme d'Etat et Collectionneur, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1961, p.144.

4. Dethan, Mazarin avant le ministère, Revue Historique, vol.227, 1962, pp.33-66.

5. Aumale, Inventaire de tous les meubles du Cardinal Mazarin, dressé en 1653, 1881, pp.104, 116, 148, 261, 319.

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For the sake of convenience the bibliography is divided into four sections: 1. Manuscript sources, 2. Early sources, 3. General works of reference, 4. Exhibition catalogues.

All these contain letters to or from Richelieu concerning the progress of building work on, and the decoration of, the Château and town of Richelieu.

France, vol. 247 fo. 153f, 155f, 159f, 162f.

Documents dealing with Richelieu's succession.

Florence, vol. 2 fo. 88f.

Letter from Des Roches to Richelieu concerning statues.

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